DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 365 480 RC 019 251

AUTHOR	Mitchell, Hilary Anne; Mitchell, Maui John
TITLE	Maori Teachers Who Leave the Classroom.
INSTITUTION	New Zealand Council for Educational Research, Wellington.
REPORT NO	ISBN-0-908916-33-7
PUB DATE	93
NOTE	147p.
AVAILABLE FROM	NZCER Distribution Services, P.O. Box 3237, Wellington, New Zealand.
PUB TYPE	Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Tests/Evaluation Instruments (160)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Bilingual Education; Career Choice; Educational Policy; Elementary Secondary Education; Foreign Countries; Higher Education; *Indigenous Personnel; Indigenous Populations; *Minority Group Teachers; *Teacher Education; *Teacher Persistence; *Teaching Conditions; Teaching Experience
IDENTIFIERS	*Former Teachers; *Maori (People); New Zealand

ABSTRACT

Interviews with 74 Maori teachers in New Zealand who had resigned from teaching and with 23 other educators examined issues in the retention of Maori teachers. Former Maori teachers are described in terms of: (1) gender and geographical distribution; (2) type of teacher training; (3) colleges of education attended; (4) level of educational attainment; (5) length of teaching career; (6) years since resigning; (7) career history prior to resignation; and (8) current occupation. Former Maori teachers describe their motives for entering and leaving the teaching profession and their experiences in colleges of education, schools, and the education system. They also describe the difficulties faced by many Maori teachers in being Maori in a non-Maori school environment, in being a teacher of Maori language, and in being an advocate of Maori students and their families. Retention issues include the process of applying for teacher training and the teacher training itself, workload, pay and teaching conditions, treatment of Maori children in schools, inability to influence policy and participate in decision making, and other factors affecting Maori teachers. A literature review outlines why teachers leave the profession and factors specific to Maori education. This study concludes that there is a need for Maori teachers, and that addressing the issues might reduce the loss of good teachers from the classroom. Contains 59 references, the interview questions, a list of participants, data tables of results, and related newspaper clippings. (LP)

****
*   Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made   *
*   from the original document.   *
****

ED 365 480

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
K. A. Pickens

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)"

HILARY ANNE MITCHELL
MAUI JOHN MITCHELL

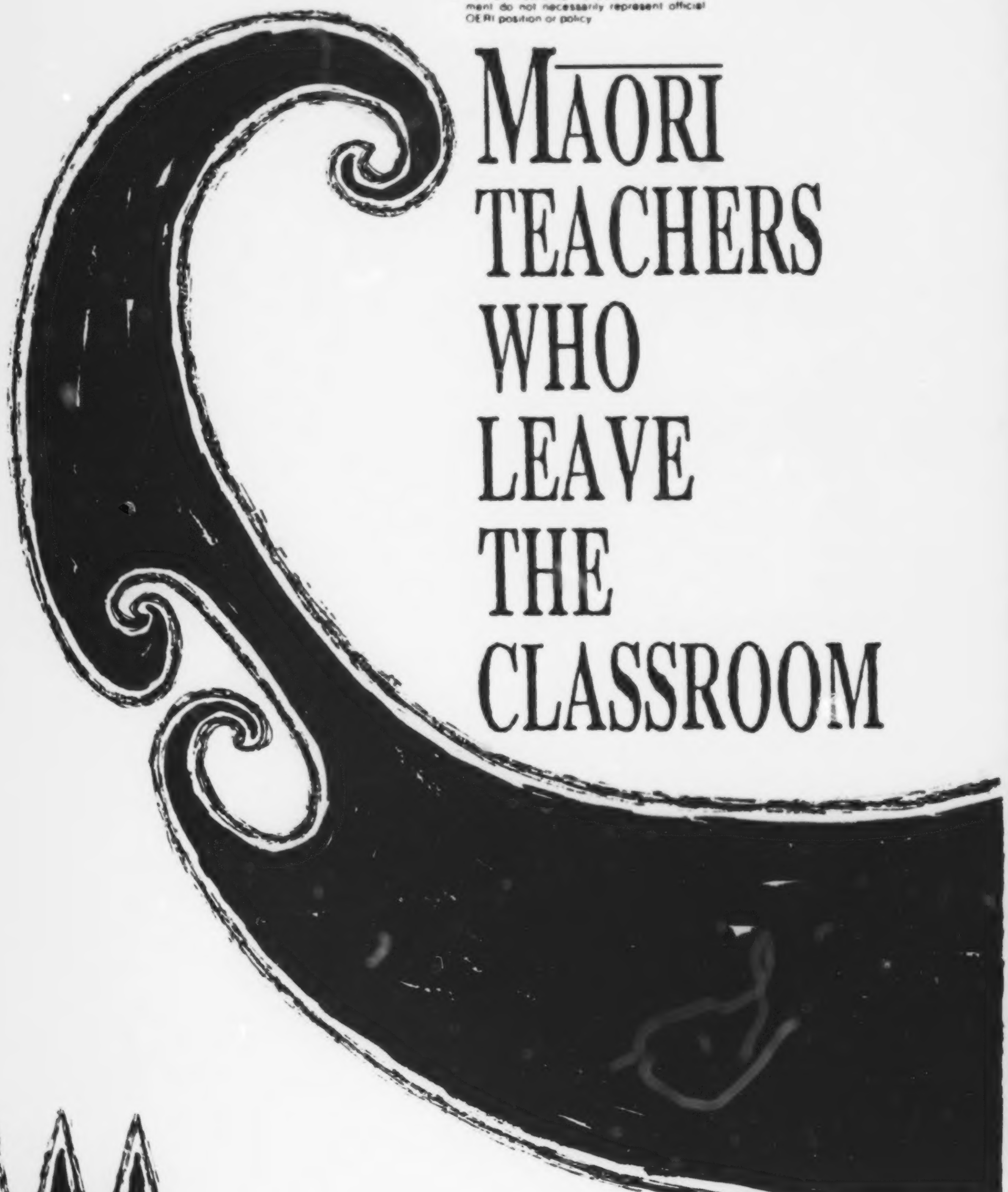
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality

- Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy

MĀORI TEACHERS WHO LEAVE THE CLASSROOM



RC019251

NZCER

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

MAORI TEACHERS WHO LEAVE THE CLASSROOM

Hilary Anne Mitchell
Maui John Mitchell

NEW ZEALAND COUNCIL
FOR EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH
WELLINGTON
1993

New Zealand Council for Educational Research
P.O. Box 3237
Wellington
New Zealand

©NZCER 1993

ISBN 0-908916-33-7

Distributed by NZCER Distribution Services
PO Box 3237
Wellington
New Zealand

ABSTRACT

An interview survey was undertaken of 74 teachers who were Maori and who had resigned from classroom and school environments, and of 23 others with past or current interests in Maori education policy and practice. Former teachers described their motives for entering and leaving the teaching profession, and their experiences in colleges of education, schools, and the education system. Interviewees described the difficulties faced by many Maori teachers in being Maori in an otherwise non-Maori school environment, in being a teacher of Maori language, in being an advocate of kaupapa Maori in education, and in being an apologist-cum-defender of the rights of Maori pupils and their families. Some factors were identified which, if addressed, could improve the lot of Maori teachers and the teaching of te reo, and possibly reduce the loss of scarce, good teachers from the school system.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Our thanks go to Dr Geraldine McDonald, formerly Assistant-Director of NZCER, who kept an eye on this project. Valuable support and advice have also come from Dr Richard Benton, Director, Te Wahanga Kaupapa Maori at NZCER, and Nena Benton. Administration of the fellowship has been carried out by Trish Hepburn and Deidre Stallinger. Suzanne Jones, Librarian at NZCER, went to considerable lengths to locate relevant reference material. Hilary and John Mitchell wish to record their appreciation of the J.R. McKenzie Trust Board and the Board and staff of NZCER for their direct help and support of this project.

Mitchell Research also wishes to acknowledge others who assisted this project in various ways, including: the newspaper/newsletter reporters and editors who publicised the study; the Nelson Public Library for assistance with references; Alan Winwood Associates of Nelson which acted as an answering service for telephone responses to newspaper/newsletter articles; the many people who assisted with names, addresses, and telephone numbers of potential candidates for this study; and especially the participants, who gave so generously of their time, experiences, and opinions.

J.R. McKENZIE TRUST

This research project was made possible by the generosity of the J.R. McKenzie Trust which has enabled the New Zealand Council for Educational Research to offer a fellowship in educational research since 1962. The award was offered annually until 1978 at which time its value was increased but it was offered only every 2 years. The award then became known as the J.R. McKenzie Senior Fellowship. Twenty-five fellowships have been awarded since 1962. In 1989/1990 the fellowship was awarded to Hilary and John Mitchell of Mitchell Research, Nelson.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

ABSTRACT iii

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS iv

Chapter 1 Background 1

Terminology, Abbreviations, Maori Terms 2
- *Organisations* 2
- *Other Abbreviations* 2
- *Maori Words, Terms* 3

Chapter 2 Research Methods 7

Locating Former Classroom Teachers 7
Field Work 8
Sampling 9
The Interviews with Former Classroom Teachers 10
Other Interviews 11
Confidentiality 11

Chapter 3 The Former Classroom Teachers 13

Gender and Geographical Distributions of Participants 13
- *The Target Group* 13
- *Other Interviews* 14
- *Yet Other Maori Former Teachers* 14

Teacher Training 16
- *Type of Training* 16

Colleges of Education Attended 16
Some Timing Factors 18
- *Years College of Education Attended* 18
- *Length of Teaching Career* 19
- *Years Since Resigning from the Classroom* 20
- *A Combination Table* 21

Career History Prior to Resignation 22
The Occupational Changes Made 32
Other Interviews 36

Page

Chapter 4 Why They Resigned 37

Chapter 5 Issues Raised by the Former Classroom Teachers 49

Applying for Teacher Training 49
  Reasons for Applying 49
  Fees for Teacher Training 54
Teacher Training 54
  Training in Te Reo, in Tikanga Maori, and in Teaching Maori Children 54
  Training in Basic Teaching Skills 54
  Secondary Teacher Training 55
  Skills Needed in Both Primary and Secondary Teaching 55
  Training in Bilingual Education 55
  Training in the Teaching of Pacific Islands Polynesian Children 56
  Residential Teachers' Training 56
  Te Atakura Training 57
  Some Other Comments on Training 57
  Induction to Teaching 58
The Workload 59
  Primary Teaching 59
  Intermediate Teaching 60
  Secondary Teaching 61
Bilingualism 63
  The Aim 63
  The Process 63
  Problems 64
  Motives for Establishing Te Reo, Total Immersion, and Bilingual Classes in Schools 64
  Other Sources of Stress 66
  Resources 67
Maori Children in Schools 68
Teaching as a Profession 70
  Job Satisfaction 70
  Recognition for Effort and Excellence 71
  Relationships with the Principal 72
  Relationships with Colleagues 72
  Career Opportunities 72
Ability to Influence Policy and Participate in Decision Making 73
Pay and Conditions 74
Opportunities for Professional Development 74
Effects of Teaching on Identity, Culture, Family, and Life Style 75
Stress 76

Page

Other Jobs 76

School Organisation and Environment 77

- *The Role of the Principal* 77
- *Staff Attitudes* 78
- *Incompatibility Between Teacher and School* 79

Boards of Trustees 79

Loss of Teachers Through Inability To Obtain Position 80

The Future 80

Maori Schools 81

Miscellaneous Issues 81

Clippings from Newspapers and Newsletters 84

Chapter 6 Literature Review 93

Introduction 93

Psychological Factors 94

Why Teachers Leave 95

School Systems 100

Teacher Selection and Training 102

Ethnic Minority Factors 106

Maori Education Issues 107

Chapter 7 Discussion of Findings 115

Previous Research 115

Complicating Cultural Factors 119

Is There a Solution? 120

Chapter 8 Conclusions 123

The Need for Maori Teachers 123

The Status of Maori Language, Bilingual, and Total Immersion Teaching 124

The Role of the Maori Language, Bilingual, or Total Immersion Teacher 124

The Maori Child in New Zealand Schools 126

Why Maori Teachers Leave 127

Tables **Page**

1 Gender and geographic distributions of participants 15
2 Type of teacher training 17
3 Colleges of education attended 17
4 Attendance within 5-year periods 18
5 Teaching service before resigning 19
6 Years since resigning 20
7 Years since resigning *versus* length of career 21
8a Career history in years prior to resignation - men 23
8b Career history in years prior to resignation - women 28
9a Career since resigning the classroom or school setting - men 33
9b Career since resigning the classroom or school setting - women 35
10 Reasons for attending teachers' college 50

Figures

1 Newspaper and newsletter publicity of the study 8
2 A selection of newspaper and other clippings 84

Appendices 129

1 Interview questions 129
2 Participants 134
Other interviewees 136
3 References 137

CHAPTER 1

Background

During mid-1988 Hilary and John Mitchell toured New Zealand to locate the 20 Maori boys and 20 Maori girls who had obtained highest marks in School Certificate English and mathematics the previous year (Mitchell and Mitchell, 1988). The interviews included the pupils themselves, at least 1 parent, administrators of their schools (principal, deputy principal, etc.) and classroom teachers. While interviewing 3 sets of parents in different North Island towns, the researchers were told that collectively these people knew of 11 Maori men who were once school teachers, but who were now working in manual labouring jobs - 5 at the local freezing works in one town, 3 at the board mill in another, and 3 at a local sawmill in yet another town. Subsequently others came to the notice of Mitchell Research. A number of other interviewees - parents, teachers, and school administrators - commented on the position of Maori teachers in their schools, and the multiple roles they were called on to fulfil, often incurring the stresses of long hours, emotional involvement, and conflicting demands.

Given the underrepresentation of Maori people in all professions, including teaching, and the increasing demand for teachers with special skills for teaching te reo, Maori history, Maori literature, and cultural subjects, it seemed that this attrition and the apparent stress under which existing Maori teachers work warranted systematic examination.

The present project began with the concept of teachers "dropping out" from teaching and before the end of their careers, but as the work progressed, the process of leaving the classroom appeared to be more complex than the term "dropping out" implies. Some had simply escaped from teaching, others had been offered another kind of job and were glad to leave teaching, others had been offered another position in the field of education and were glad to leave the classroom, others had been offered job opportunities and took these up even though they enjoyed classroom teaching, and there were those who, for one reason or another, had taken a break from teaching and found that there were no jobs available when they wanted to return. Despite the different circumstances which led to their departure from the classroom, there was considerable unanimity about the experiences of Maori teachers within schools for, in general, it is their status and position within a school and the status and level of resourcing of the subjects they teach that brings about the stress that may be reported. Another point to note is that a number of those we interviewed had gone on to interesting and prestigious occupations both within education and in other fields.

Terminology, Abbreviations, Maori Terms

Various terms and abbreviations are used in this report, as are several Maori words which seemed more appropriate in the context used than their English near-equivalents.

The Maori former teachers who had left the classroom and who made up the target group of this study are referred to as "participants", "subjects", "interviewees", and "candidates" (these terms are used interchangeably) in the report.

Organisations

ACCESS = Government training programmes for unemployed people, 1984 - 1990
DSW = Department of Social Welfare
ERO = Education Review Office
ITA = Iwi Transition Agency
MACCESS = Maori training programmes for unemployed people
Manatu Maori = Ministry of Maori Affairs
MWWL = Maori Women's Welfare League
NZCER = New Zealand Council for Educational Research
NZEI = New Zealand Educational Institute (union movement for primary school teachers)
NZMC = New Zealand Maori Council
NZQA = New Zealand Qualifications Authority
PPTA = Post-primary Teachers Association
Quest = Quest Rapuara (vocational guidance advisory service)
PEP = Project Employment Programme - a pre-1984 Government employment scheme

Other Abbreviations

For convenience of presenting information on tables, the following abbreviations have been used:

Associate = senior teacher assigned to assist a probationary assistant teacher
AT = assistant teacher
bicult = bicultural, biculturalism
biling = bilingual
Coll Ed = college of education
cult = culture
Dep Ppl = deputy principal
DPB = domestic purposes benefit
dvmt = development, developmental
ed = education, educational
estab = establish, established
Geog = geography

Guid Couns = guidance counsellor
HOD = head of department
Insp = inspector, inspectorate
int = intermediate (teaching, school)
ITM = itinerant teacher of Maori
kdrgtn = kindergarten
lect = lecturer
Met City = metropolitan city
mgmt = management
MLT = Maori language tutor
o'seas = overseas
PA, Prob Asst = probationary assistant - usual designation for primary school teachers in their first year of teaching, prior to certification
PE = physical education
Ppl = principal
prim = primary (teaching, school)
prog = programme
prov = provincial
PR2 = position of responsibility (grade 2)
p t = part time
Reo = Maori language
RTM = resource teacher of Maori - a teacher who travels from school to school to assist resident teachers of Maori with their programmes
Sc = science
Sch = school
sec = secondary (teaching, school)
sen = senior
sev = several
Soc St = social studies
STJC = senior teacher of junior classes
T = teacher, teaching
trans = transition
uni = university

Maori Words, Terms

Some Maori concepts and ideas do not have precise single-word English equivalents, and in the context used, the Maori word or words best capture the meaning intended. The following meanings given are at best an approximation, and do not convey the spiritual dimensions and/or the sense of personal obligation which is implicit in many Maori situations. In the list which follows, long vowels are marked by the macron; they are unmarked in the text.

aroha : love, in the sense of caring, compassion, sympathy, gratitude, approval

hapū	:	subdivision of an iwi
hui	:	a Maori gathering, usually on a marae, held in accordance with Maori protocol
iwi	:	tribal group, or the people as in "te iwi Māori"
kaiako	:	teacher
kaiarahi reo	:	leader (of group, class) in Maori language
kaimahi	:	worker
kaiwhakaako	:	teacher, or one who establishes a place of teaching
karanga	:	call, ritual greeting
kaumatua	:	respected tribal elder
kaupapa	:	purpose, objective, philosophy
kawa	:	protocol
koha	:	gift, donation
kōhanga reo	:	lit. "language nest" - preschool education centre run according to Maori kaupapa and tikanga and using Maori language
kuia	:	older, respected woman
kura	:	school
kura kaupapa Māori	:	school based on Maori objectives, philosophy, customs, protocols, and using Maori language
mahi	:	work, job, employment
mana	:	prestige, status, standing, authority, spiritual power
manuhiri	:	visitors, guests (not hosts at a hui), sometimes used as term for people of other tribal areas - not tangata whenua
Māoritanga	:	Maori practices, knowledge, understanding
marae	:	meeting place of Maori tradition; tribal or cultural centre of local iwi, hapū, or Maori community
Mātua Whāngai	:	a Government-funded, iwi-managed programme to meet social, economic, and other needs
mihi	:	greeting, speech of greeting, welcome
mōkai	:	worker, agent to undertake specific or general duties, servant
paepae	:	the speakers' platform and seating reserved for those making formal speeches at welcome ceremonies at a marae
Pakehā	:	New Zealanders of European ancestry
pōwhiri	:	welcome ceremony at a marae
rohe	:	tribal boundary
rūnanga	:	hapu or tribal committee
rūnanganui	:	tribal or pan-tribal committee, council, confederation
taha	:	side, dimension - as in taha Māori
take	:	task, job, concern
takiwā	:	tribal area, region, district
tangata whenua	:	lit. "the people of the land" - the iwi, hapu, or members thereof who have ancestral ties to the marae, land, or district in question
tangi, tangihanga	:	weeping, mourning, funeral, wake
te reo	:	the Maori language
tikanga	:	customs, protocol

whaikorero	formal oratory
whakahīhī	lofty, vain, conceited, arrogant, show off
whakaiti	humble, modest
whakamā	deep-seated shame, shyness, embarrassment, embarrassed silence (sometimes misinterpreted as sullenness, resentment, etc.)
whānau	extended family
wharenui	meeting house at the marae
whenua	land, country

CHAPTER 2

Research Methods

Locating Former Classroom Teachers

Maori former teachers were located by several means, including:

- personal contacts of the authors through their involvements with local, regional, and national Maori organisations;

- contacts with people interviewed during previous studies (e.g., the Maori Achievers study mentioned in Chapter 1);

- direct inquiries of personnel or office-holders of national and regional Maori organisations such as Manatu Maori, ITA, Maori Land Court, Maori tribal trust boards, runanganui, NZ Maori Council, Maori Women's Welfare League, Maori Teachers' Associations, and the Maori units of agencies such as the Ministry of Education, ERO, Quest Rapuara, PPTA, and NZEI;

- "advertising" through articles in the national Sunday newspaper, the *Dominion Sunday Times*, and newsletters of Manatu Maori (*Nga Kauwae*) and of ITA (*Iwi Express*). Figure 1 reproduces some of these articles. NZCER also described the study in its *Newsletter*, Vol. 21, No. 1, 1990;

- attendance by Hilary Mitchell at a hui ("Tino Rangatiratanga") of Maori teachers, parents, trustees, kaumatua, and whanau, at Moteo Marae, Napier, on 21-22 September 1990, to discuss educational issues;

- attendance by John Mitchell at several hui throughout New Zealand at which opportunities were available to gather names of possible participants.

Contact lists were also built up as the study proceeded; every interviewee was asked to name others who had left teaching in mid-career.

Field Work

Between September and November 1990, 2 visits were made to North Island centres and 1 to the South Island. A majority of the people identified lived in the North Island. While the first North Island visit was primarily to identify and locate potential participants and to make preliminary contacts, some people were interviewed at that time. However, most of the North Island samples were seen on the second visit.

The early interviews served as pilots for the set of questions prepared by the authors.

Figure 1
Newspaper and Newsletter Publicity of the Study

Nga Kauwae - October 1990

RESEARCH STUDY LOOKS AT EX MAORI SCHOOL TEACHERS

Maori people who have trained as school teachers and have now left the profession are being sought for a research study.

The study hopes to find the reasons Maori people choose to leave the teaching profession.

It is being run by John and Hilary Mitchell of Mitchell Research based in Nelson. Mr John Mitchell says they are willing to travel all over the country to interview ex teachers.

Mitchell research are holders of the 1990 McKenzie Research Fellowship and are undertaking the study on behalf of the New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

Mr Mitchell says in recent years Mitchell Research has completed several investigations of social, educational and health issues involving Maori interests and concerns.

He is also a Maori Fisheries Commissioner and Deputy Chairman of Te Runanganui o Te Tau Ihu o te Waka a Maui.

If you would like to contribute to this study, or if you know people who may agree to be interviewed, phone collect to Nelson 66 973 as soon as possible.

TIROHANGA RANGAHAU MO NGA KAI-WHAKAAKO MAORI O MUA

Ko te iwi Maori i puta i nga kaupapa whakaako i roto i nga kura, a, kahore i te whakaako inaianei, e kimihia ana mo tetahi tirohanga rangahau.

Ko te tumanako o tenei rangahau kia puta ai nga take i whakarerea ai e aua tangata Maori i te mahi whakaako.

Ko nga kai-whakahaere o tenei rangahau ko John me Hilary Mitchell, o te ropu Mitchell Research, ko tona nei tari kei Whakatu (Nelson). Ko te ropu Mitchell te kai-pupuri i te McKenzie Research Fellowship mo te tau 1990, a, kei te whakahaeretia tenei rangahau i raro i te mana o te Kaunihera Rangahau i nga Kaupapa Matauranga o Aotearoa (NZCER).

E ta Mitchell, i roto i nga tau tata ki muri, i mahia e tana ropu etahi tirohanga mo nga kaupapa-a-iwi, kaupapa matauranga, me nga kaupapa oranga tinana e whai panga ana ki te ao Maori.

He mema hoki ia no te Komihana Hi-Ika, ko ia hoki te Tiamana tuarua o te Runanganui o te Tau Ihu o te Waka-a-Maui.

Mehemea koe ka taea ki te awhina i tenei rangahau, mehemea ranei kei te mohio koe ki etahi atu ka whakaae ki te korero-tahi ki a ratou, me waea atu ki Nelson 66-973, inaianei tonu. Ma ratou e utu i tenei waea.

Iwi Express - September 1990

Maori Ex-Teachers Study

Hilary and John Mitchell of Mitchell Research, Nelson, holders of the 1989 - 1990 McKenzie Research Fellowship, are, on behalf of the New Zealand Council for Education Research, to investigate reasons why Maori who were once school teachers chose to leave the profession.

The Mitchells are willing to travel anywhere in New Zealand to interview Maori ex-teachers. If you would like to contribute to this study, or if you know people who may agree to be interviewed, please telephone Nelson 66-973, collect, as soon as possible.

Dominion Sunday Times - 23 September 1990

Researchers seek former teachers

By MOERANGI VERCOE

TWO Nelson researchers are looking for Maori people who have left teaching for other jobs.

Hilary and John Mitchell are carrying out the research for the Council for Educational Research on why Maori people leave the profession.

Mr Mitchell said he hoped it would be used to encourage Maori people back into teaching or change the circumstances that made them leave.

He said there were concerns that a high number of Maori people were leaving teaching but he did not know if it was a higher proportion than non-Maori who left.

"But because there is a shortage of Maori teachers anyway, the concern is quite strong. When your numbers are down, it's difficult to build up the numbers you would like if they keep leaving."

Mr Mitchell said he and his wife were motivated to carry out the research when interviewing for a different project.

Within three visits they discovered by chance 10 Maori men who had been teachers and had left for manual labour jobs.

They were intrigued as to why the men had made the switch and approached the council with the idea.

The Mitchells are the holders of the 1989-1990 McKenzie Research Fellowship while they work on the project.

They began interviewing last week but are still keen to hear of any former teachers who would be willing to be interviewed. Anyone that can contribute should ring Nelson 66-973 collect.

Sampling

The field trips were limited by time and expense. The authors could not afford the luxury of protracted stays in each town to ensure that every Maori former teacher had been identified, located, and interviewed. Therefore, in no town was it possible to see all of those who were identified. In every location some potential participants were out of town on the days the authors were able to visit. We were impressed by how busy some of these people were - in addition to the workloads of their current occupations, most were deeply involved in mahi Maori - marae meetings, runanga/runanganui meetings, trust boards, Runanga Iwi Act requirements, iwi development programmes, Maori fisheries meetings, Waitangi Tribunal claims, kohanga reo, kura kaupapa Maori and total immersion hui, tangi, openings of wharenui, and so on. For many, the professional skills of their teacher training and experience were being applied/exploited to the full - mostly as voluntary participants in iwi/hapu/whanau/runanga affairs. Several people we would have liked to visit had no time available - weekends included - for several weeks.

Given the commitments of many potential interviewees, we worked out itineraries to visit as many as possible in each district, without incurring "dead time" waiting for people to become available for interviews. Towns were visited on set days, and those persons available were seen then; those not available at those times had to be passed by.

With considerable reluctance we also made some decisions not to visit certain regions where the number of potential participants was too low to warrant the time and cost of the journey. Because only 2 definite candidates were identified south of Christchurch, and 4 north of Auckland, these cities became the geographical limits of the area covered. Within these northern and southern boundaries participants were drawn from a wide range of urban and rural locations.

Some selection according to current occupation was also exercised, to ensure that the sample was not overloaded with former teachers who are still pursuing education-related careers with agencies such as the Ministry of Education, the Education Review Office, Quest Rapuara, and so on. Selection procedures are discussed in Chapter 3.

Almost 300 names were obtained of Maori people who had left the classroom in mid-career. Of these, over 180 were positively identified (name, address, telephone number) and 74 of these were interviewed as the target group for this study. Another 23 were interviewed, as commentators on Maori education - policy and practice - and on issues affecting Maori teachers (*see* Appendix 2). Some of these people had also once been classroom teachers, but their role in this study was as commentators on background issues, rather than as contributors of personal accounts.

The Interviews with Former Classroom Teachers

Participants were contacted in advance by telephone, and interviews were held at times and locations chosen by them - usually at their work or homes, although one opportunity arose in the corner of a bar in a country hotel, another at kaumatua flats attached to a marae, and another at the authors' motel.

A semi-structured interview format was adopted. A prepared question-set (rather than a formal questionnaire) formed a loose framework for the interviews. The order of questions and the extent of questioning varied according to the significance of particular items/ factors/issues to individual interviewees. Appendix 1 lists the prepared questions, which were not actually seen by interviewees, but were worked through by the authors. It should be emphasised that in most cases these questions were simply starting points for lengthy discussions of issues which were incorporated by many supplementary questions or entirely new lines of inquiry not included in the basic list. Some questions were abandoned entirely if it became obvious they were irrelevant in a particular interview.

A number of interviewees virtually took over the interview. Occasionally the authors were themselves interviewed (informed/harangued) by some interviewees. A few interviewees did not provide personal information and details of their early training as a teacher and teaching experience. This in no way diminished the value of their input, for the issues being described so passionately were entirely relevant to the substance of the research.

It would have impeded the flow of important information to have insisted on a strict adherence to a predetermined question format. The authors were perfectly happy if interviewees found it more comfortable or culturally more acceptable to depart from the prepared semi-structured question/answer format. The interview was designed to allow the participants to decide what they believed to be relevant and important.

Interviews were usually scheduled to last 45 minutes to an hour, and in most cases this was the time taken. Some interviews were considerably longer - some as long as 3 hours. Usually only 1 interviewee was present, but if there were more, authors were guided by the wishes of the people concerned. A small number had their spouse present (sometimes both were former teachers and were interviewed together), other family members, or another former teacher they had invited to join the interview. Again, the presence of these other people had no adverse effects on the interview process (apart from the havoc caused to a tight timetable for succeeding interviews that day). In many ways it was a great advantage, since spouses or friends were able to recall details or events which had occurred several years earlier, or to make further comments on some of the issues faced by their partners or friends during their teaching careers.

All interviews were conducted by the authors and in most cases both were present.

Other Interviews

As already noted, a number of interviews were also held with people currently teaching or involved elsewhere in education because they were acknowledged as important commentators on issues implicit in this study. The specific issues included departmental or school policies and practice; Maori teacher experiences; Maori pupil issues; Maori education initiatives within traditional school settings (whanau classes, bilingual teaching, school marae, etc.); alternative Maori schooling initiatives (kohanga reo, total immersion classes, kura kaupapa, Maori university courses such as those conducted at Te Wananga o Raukawa at Otaki, etc.).

Several of these commentators were themselves formerly classroom teachers from within traditional school settings. A small number with wide-ranging networks were contacted mainly for names of Maori former teachers. A few of these "Other Interviews" were conducted by telephone because it was not necessary to visit, or it proved impossible for reasons of time or distance to do so.

Confidentiality

While many participants were willing to be quoted verbatim all were assured of confidentiality in that they would not be linked directly to any critical comments they might wish to make about the education system, particular schools, or individuals. The authors gave an undertaking that particular schools would not be identified in this report, but that any relevant issues raised would certainly be reported. On those assurances, all participants agreed to be listed as contributors to this study - *see* Appendix 2.

CHAPTER 3

The Former Classroom Teachers

The participants were not a random selection from a known total population, and so statistical comparisons (for example, between the gender subgroups) would have been of spurious validity. The selection procedures are described in the next section. Tables are used to summarise some of the features of the group interviewed.

Gender and Geographical Distributions of Participants

The Target Group

Some aspects of the sampling procedure and the logistics of contacting people for interviews were discussed in Chapter 2. Table 1 sets out the number interviewed and the gender composition of the sample. A total of 74 Maori people were identified who had once been classroom teachers but who had made mid-career shifts to other positions within education or to different occupations. These were located and interviewed. Forty-three were men and 31 were women. Of these 74 people, 15 are still involved with the state education system as reviewers, advisers, or policy analysts, or now teach in tertiary education settings.

The authors exercised some selection of candidates for this study. Because many former primary and secondary classroom teachers are now in other educational occupations, they could readily have "over-loaded" the sample with such persons. For example, every head office and district/regional office of the Ministry of Education, ERO, Quest Rapuara, NZQA, NZEI, and PPTA has at least one Maori person, and sometimes several, to attend to Maori education and/or Treaty of Waitangi issues. The Ministry of Education has several advisory and policy divisions, each with staff to address Maori issues. ERO provided the researchers with the national complement of its Maori reviewers - 39 names were listed, most being former classroom teachers (although 3 or 4 had come to ERO from the disestablished inspectorate). Quest Rapuara is similarly staffed. Nationwide, there must be dozens of Maori people in these positions. Rather than seeking to identify and interview every Maori former teacher in agencies of this kind, the authors decided to include 15 in the sample. Similarly, only 3 people currently teaching in tertiary institutions were included in the target group, whereas nationally there must be several dozen former primary and secondary teachers who now staff the Maori departments (and possibly other subject areas) of the colleges of education, polytechnics, and universities. For many, these occupations are a logical career progression within the education system of New Zealand; for others, the shift to these agencies was definitely an escape from the classroom, akin to the shifts to non-educational occupations made by others. For some Maori former teachers the shift to these positions was a deliberate move to seek a position in which they might be able to influence educational policy formulation and decision making on matters which had concerned them as classroom teachers.

Many of the sample still regard themselves as educators, even though their current occupations are somewhat divorced from mainstream state education settings. Several are now employed by marae/runanga-based training programmes; some have initiated and set up the programmes themselves on behalf of their marae/iwi group. Others conduct or contribute to their agency's/firm's educational activities, such as staff training or public awareness programmes, although the policy and operations requirements of their current employment are not primarily educational.

Other Interviews

The 23 interviews in the "Other Interviews" columns of Table 1 include the following categories of people:

- those whose present or past positions are at a senior level in Maori educational policy and practice - some of these were also former classroom teachers, but this was not the primary reason for seeing them;
- a small number who taught right through to retirement age - these people were able to provide insights of the teaching experience of "satisfied customers";
- a small number of people still teaching - seen for the same reason as above;
- a small number contacted because of their networks (Maori Women's Welfare League, tribal authority, etc.) from which former teachers could be identified;
- one non-Maori person who is a fluent speaker of te reo and a past teacher of Maori (at secondary school level).

Yet Other Maori Former Teachers

The right-hand columns of Table 1 list the numbers of other people who were identified as potential candidates for this study, but who were not interviewed for the various reasons given. This is not an exhaustive list of Maori former teachers by any means - it simply records the numbers of people (107 in all at the time of writing) whose names and addresses were confirmed by the authors and who could have been interviewed had there been time and money available. This summary includes only the ERO, Quest Rapuara, Ministry of Education, or tertiary institution staff whose names were referred by personal contacts and for whom addresses or telephone numbers were also provided. There were many other Maori former teachers on the staff lists of these agencies whom we did not try to contact - as mentioned above. The former teachers identified who now live abroad are not included in this summary. We were also given the names of over 100 other Maori people known to have left teaching but whose present residential or work addresses are unknown. In other words, the pool of potential candidates for a study such as this is quite large; in addition to the 74 "Target Interviewees" and the 23 "Other Interviewees", 110 people have been definitely identified (names, addresses, and telephone numbers), and the names, but no other details, are known for a similar number of others.

Table 1

Gender and Geographic Distributions of Participants

Locality, District	Former Teachers Interviewed			Other Interviews			Identified But Not Interviewed		
	Men	*Women*	*Total*	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*
Ashburton	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Auckland	8	2	10	-	-	-	6	5	11
Cape Runaway	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Christchurch	2	4	6	1	-	1	3	1	4
Coromandel	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
E Cape/Ruatoria	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2
E Cape/Te Puia	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
E Cape/Tikitiki	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Gisborne	3	2	5	-	-	-	1	-	1
Hamilton	2	3	5	2	2	4	2	3	5
Hastings, etc	1	-	1	-	1	1	-	2	2
Hutt Valley	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Invercargill	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Kaikoura	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Levin	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Masterton	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	1	2
Napier	5	1	6	-	2	2	4	2	6
Nelson	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	2	3
New Plymouth	4	1	5	1	1	2	-	-	-
Ngaruawahia	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-
Oamaru	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Okarito	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Otaki	1	3	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
Palmerston North	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Porirua	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	1	2
Rotorua	2	-	2	-	-	-	1	5	6
Ruatahuna	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Ruatoki	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Taupo	1	1	2	1	1	2	3	2	5
Tauranga	-	3	3	-	-	-	1	3	4
Tokoroa	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Turangi	-	1	1	-	-	-	2	1	3
Wairoa	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
Wanganui	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	4
Wellington	5	5	10	4	3	7	18	16	24
Whakatane	4	-	4	-	-	-	1	1	2
Whangarei	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	4
Totals	43	31	74	11	12	23	58	52	110

It is probably not surprising that so many names (46 in all) were given of Maori former teachers who now live in the Wellington district, since the head offices of most state agencies, many companies, and "single" entities such as the National Library, the National Museum, National Archives, the Dictionary of Biography, and so on are found in the capital. For many with career/promotion ambitions or with special occupational interests, Wellington is the inevitable career destination. To avoid a geographic overload of the sample, only 12 people were interviewed of the 46 Maori former teachers who were identified as potentially available in the Wellington-Hutt region.

Appendix 2 lists the names of those actually visited for formal interviews - 97 people in all (74 former teachers and 23 "Other Interviewees"). The 110 former teachers identified but not interviewed are not listed in this report, although details of their names, current addresses, and telephone numbers could be available for future research (along with others who are employees of the agencies mentioned above).

The analyses which follow in this chapter refer only to the 74 people of the target group, unless otherwise stated. Information contributed by "Other Interviewees" is discussed in appropriate sections of following chapters. Some of the early career details are not available for a small number of interviewees who, as has been mentioned, tended to take over the interview, making the pursuit of such information a much less important task.

Teacher Training

Type of Training

Table 2 sets out the type of training undertaken by participants in the study. Many of the interviewees seemed to have had very diversified teaching careers and taught in primary, secondary, and tertiary settings and/or enjoyed stints out of the classroom as itinerant teachers (ITMs), resource teachers of Maori (RTMs), advisers, inspectors, reviewers, policy developers, or curriculum developers, before settling on a permanent departure from school/classroom environments. Unfortunately we were not able to locate for interview any whose teacher training was obtained through the Te Atakura (new dawning) scheme. We had heard several stories of difficulties and problems experienced by teachers from this scheme which began in 1987 and enabled people whose competence in Maori language and culture had been attested to by marae committees to apply for admission to a 1-year secondary teachers' course for Maori language speakers.

Colleges of Education Attended

Table 3 sets out numbers attending the different colleges of education (formerly called teachers colleges). Three women received no formal teacher training other than "on-the-job" and in-service courses. Another woman was a school-based outpost trainee. No one college of education seems to have contributed disproportionately to the sample.

Table 2
Type of Teacher Training

Type of Training	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*
Primary	26	19	45
Secondary	10	6	16
Primary and secondary	4	-	4
Outpost secondary	-	1	1
Pre-Atakura 1 year	2	-	2
Kindergarten	-	1	1
No formal training	-	3	3
Not known	1	1	2
Total	43	31	74

Table 3
**Colleges of Education Attended*

College Attended	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*
Ardmore Residential	7	8	15
Auckland	15	4	19
Christchurch	5	4	9
Dunedin	1	-	1
Hamilton	4	4	8
Palmerston North	4	2	6
Wellington	4	2	6
Outpost (Hutt and Levin)	-	1	1
None	-	3	3
Not known	3	3	6
Total	43	31	74

* Formerly called teachers colleges

Some Timing Factors

While age *per se* does not seem to have been particularly relevant to this study, participants did span a wide age range - from mid-20s to mid-60s. The next 3 subsections set out some of the features of their training and teaching careers relating to timing.

Years College of Education Attended

Table 4 summarises the distribution of dates of attendance at colleges of education. There are some differences in the male-female distributions in the sample.

Table 4
Attendance Within 5-Year Periods

Years	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*
1946 - 1950	2	1	3
1951 - 1955	3	5	8
1956 - 1960	9	1	10
1961 - 1965	8	1	9
1966 - 1970	7	3	10
1971 - 1975	5	3	8
1976 - 1980	3	3	6
1981 - 1985	1	6	7
1986 - 1990	-	-	-
Not applicable	-	3	3
Not known	5	5	10
Total	43	31	74

Length of Teaching Career

Table 5 sets out the classroom teaching career, rather than total time in education-related work. For several, the estimates are cumulative over careers broken by family commitments, secondments, or temporary career shifts, before the final break with the classroom setting. About half of the sample had teaching careers of 10 years or fewer.

Table 5

Teaching Service Before Resigning

Number of Years	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*
0 - 1	4	1	5
2	2	5	7
3 - 5	4	6	10
6 - 10	8	6	14
11 - 15	6	-	6
16 - 20	7	4	11
21 - 25	3	3	6
26 - 30	4	-	4
31 - 35	2	3	5
36 - 40	1	-	1
Not known	2	3	5
Total	43	31	74

Years Since Resigning from the Classroom

Table 6 shows how long it is since interviewees left the classroom. The majority of the participants have resigned in the past 15 years, almost half of them in the past 5 years. This may be of no great significance, other than to highlight the fact that those who have resigned in recent years are less likely to have disappeared from the networks. The present whereabouts may not be generally known of people who left teaching 20 or more years ago, or the fact that they were once teachers may not be generally known. On the other hand, the figures may indicate that in recent years factors which have always prompted teacher resignations have intensified, and/or new factors have emerged.

Table 6
Years Since Resigning

Number of Years	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*
0 - 1	8	3	11
2	4	7	11
3 - 5	7	6	13
6 - 10	6	1	7
11 - 15	5	5	10
16 - 20	3	1	4
21 - 25	3	3	6
26 - 30	4	1	5
31 - 35	1	-	1
36 - 40	-	-	-
Not known	2	4	6
Total	43	31	74

A Combination Table

Table 7 combines the previous 2 tables to see if there are any obvious features in a 2-way distribution of the data (only the 68 people for whom full data were available are included in this analysis).

Apart from the predicted absence of entries in the sector including the persons with the longest service and the greatest length of time since resigning (one can only live so long), there are no prominent clusterings in the table.

Table 7
Years Since Resigning versus *Length of Career*

	Years Since Resigning									
Years of Service	*0-1*	*2*	*3-5*	*6-10*	*11-15*	*16-20*	*21-25*	*26-30*	*31-35*	*Total*
0 - 1	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	1	1	5
2	-	-	2	3	1	-	1	-	-	7
3 - 5	1	2	-	1	2	1	1	2	-	10
6 - 10	1	4	5	-	2	-	2	-	-	14
11 - 15	1	-	1	2	2	-	-	-	-	6
16 - 20	1	2	1	-	2	2	-	2	-	10
21 - 25	3	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	6
26 - 30	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
31 - 35	2	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	5
36 - 40	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Totals	11	11	13	7	10	4	6	5	1	68

Career History Prior to Resignation

Tables 8a and 8b summarise the last teaching/school position held by participants prior to their resignation. This is not a detailed biography of participants' full teaching careers, but a listing of the more significant career changes in the years immediately prior to their resignations. (The "Person" codes M1, M2 ... W1, W2 ... etc. have no particular significance, although the same code is used for the same person in Tables 8 and 9).

Table 8a

Career History in Years Prior to Resignation - Men

Person	*Training*	*Positions*	*Type of School*	*Location*	*Specialties*	*Comments*
M1	Prim	AT	Int	Met city	At risk pupils	Fluent*
		AT	Sec	Met city	" "	
		ITM	Int	Met city	Reo, cult	
		AT	Int	Met city	At risk pupils	
M2	Prim	AT	Prim	Country town	Special needs	
		Reliever	Prim	Met city		
		AT	Int	Met city		
M3		Lect	Uni	Met city	Reo	Fluent
	Sec	Relieving T	Sec	Met city	Reo	
M4	Sec	AT	Sec	Met city		Fluent
M5	Prim	AT	Prim	Rural		
		AT	Prim	Met city	PE	
		AT	Int	Met city	Art/discipline	
		AT	Sec, church	Met city	Sex ed/ discipline	
M6	Sec	AT	Sec	Prov city		
		O'seas T	Sec	Met city		
M7	Sec	AT	Sec	Met city		Fluent
M8	Sec	HOD/PE	Sec	Met city	Reo/PE	
		Bicult dvmt	Marae-based	Met city	Reo	Ed prog dvmt
		Adviser	Sec schools	Met city/ region	Reo	Curr cttees
		Insp	Sec schools	Met city/ region	Reo/PE	Curr cttees
M9	Prim	AT	Prim	Country town		
		Relieve, PT	Prim	Rural		

* Fluent = fluent speaker of Maori language

Table 8a (continued)

Person	*Training*	*Positions*	*Type of School*	*Location*	*Specialties*	*Comments*
M10	Prim	Prob Asst	Prim	Country/ army	Tried reo, etc.	
M11	Sec	AT	Sec	Country town		Fluent
		HOD/Maori	Sec	Prov city	Reo, cult	
		Adviser	Sec schools	Met city/ region	Reo	
M12	Pri	Dep Ppl	Prim	Country town		Fluent
		ITM/ NZCER	Prim	Country town	Estab biling prog	
M13	Prim	AT	Prim	Rural	Some Maori cult	
M14	Prim	AT	Prim	Country town		Fluent
		Mobile Res	Prim	Prov city		
		Sen T	Prim	Country town		
		ITM	Prim	Prov region	Reo	
		Dep Ppl	Prim	Country town		
		Adviser	Sec schools	Prov region	Reo	
		Tutor	Polytech	Prov city	Reo, Treaty issues	
M15	Pre-Atakura	AT	Sec	Prov city	Reo, cult	Fluent
		Sen T	Prison	Rural	Reo, cult, craft	
M16	Sec	HOD/ history	Sec, church	Prov city		

Table 8a (continued)

Person	*Training*	*Positions*	*Type of School*	*Location*	*Specialties*	*Comments*
M17	Prim	AT	Prim, church	Prov city		
		AT	Prim, church	Met city		
		AT	Prim	Country town		
		Relieving	Prim	Prov city		
M18	Prim	AT	Prim	Country town		Fluent
M19	Sec	AT	Sec	Prov city	Reo, cult	Fluent
		AT, jobshare	Sec	Prov city	Reo	
		Tutor/lect	Polytech	Prov city	Reo	
		Tutor	Polytech	Prov city	PEP prog	
M20	Sec	AT	Sec	Rural	Reo	
		AT	Sec	Country town	Reo	
M21	Sec	AT (farming)	Sec	Country town	Science, reo	Fluent?
		AT	Sec	Country town	Science, F5 Dean	
		Tutor	Prison	Prov city		
M22	Prim	AT/minister	Prim	Country towns	Some reo, cult	Fluent
		AT/chaplain	Sec, church, Maori	Rural	Reo, etc	
		Ppl	Sec, church, Maori	Rural	Reo, etc	
		Sen Master	Sec, church, Maori	Rural	Reo, etc	
M23	Prim	Sen T	Prim	Prov city	NZEI delegate	Fluent
		Dep Ppl	Prim	Prov city		
		ITM	Prim sch	Prov region	Reo	

Table 8a (continued)

Person	*Training*	*Positions*	*Type of School*	*Location*	*Specialties*	*Comments*
M24	Prim	AT	Prim, church town	Rural		Fluent
		AT	Sec	Met city	Reo	
		Guid Couns	Sec	Met city		
		Reliever	Prim or sec	Met city		
		AT	Prim or sec	Met city		
		Adviser	Sec	Prov region	Reo	
M25	Prim	Ppl	Prim	Country town		Fluent
		Dep Ppl	Int	Country town	Reo	
		Adviser	Prim	Prov region	Reo	
M26	Prim	AT	Prim	Rural schools		Fluent
		Reliever	Prim	Prov city	Some reo, cult	
		AT	Prim	Prov city		
M27	Pre-Atakura	AT	Sec	Country town	Reo	Fluent
M28	Prim	AT	Prim	Rural		Fluent
		Sole charge	Prim	Rural		
		Tutor PT	Polytech	Prov city	Reo	
M29	Prim	Sen T	Int	Met city	Reo, cult group	Fluent
		Ppl	Prim	Rural	Reo, cult tried	
		Dep Ppl	Prim	Met city		
		Sen T	Prim	Country town		
		Adviser	Ministry	Prov city	Maori ed	
M30	Prim	AT	Prim	Prov city		
		AT	Prim	Prov city	Estab biling prog	

Table 8a (continued)

Person	*Training*	*Positions*	*Type of School*	*Location*	*Specialties*	*Comments*
M31	Prim	Ppl	Prim, 2-T sch	Rural		Fluent
		T recruiting				
		Sen T/PR	Sec	Prov city	Reo, geog, sport	
		HOD/ language	Sec	Prov city	Reo	
M32	Prim	Prob Asst	Prim	Met city		
M33	Prim	Prob Asst	Prim	Country town		
M34	Sec	Sen T	Sec	Met city		Fluent
		Ppl	Sec	Country town		
M35	Prim	AT	Prim (sev)	Met city		Fluent
		Lect	Uni	Met city	Reo	
		AT	Prim, Corres Sch	Met city	Reo	
		Lect	Coll Ed	Met city	Reo	
		HOD/Maori	Sec	Met city	Reo, soc studies	
M36	Sec	AT	Sec (new sch)	Met city		Fluent
		PR	Sec (new sch)	Met city		
M37	Prim	AT	Prim	Country		Fluent
		Sen T	Prim	Met city		
		Adviser	Prim	Met city	Reo	
M38	Prim	Ppl	Int	Met city		
		Ed union	Prim	Met city	Maori teachers	
M39	Sec	Dep Ppl	Area sch, F1-7	Country town		Fluent
		Director	Community ed centre	Regional town		
		Adviser	Pre-sch to sec	Prov region	Kaupapa Maori	

Table 8a (continued)

Person	*Training*	*Positions*	*Type of School*	*Location*	*Specialties*	*Comments*
M40	Prim & Sec	AT	Prim	Rural		Fluent?
		AT (Mgmt)	Prim	Country town		
		AT	Prim	Rural	Biling prog	
M41	Prim	Prob Asst	Prim	Country town		
M42	Prim	Ppl	Prim	Rural		Fluent
		MLT	Polytech	Prov city		
M43	Prim	Ppl	Prim	Country town	Reo progs	Fluent

Table 8b
Career History in Years Prior to Resignation - Women

Person	*Training*	*Positions*	*Type of School*	*Location*	*Specialties*	*Comments*
W1	No Coll Ed	AT	Sec	Met city	Reo	Fluent
		AT	Sec	Country town	Reo	
		Tutor	Adult classes	Met city	Reo	
		Tutor	Coll Ed staff trainer	Met city	Reo, Treaty	
W2	Sec	AT	Sec	Prov city	Commerce	
W3	Prim	AT	Prim	Country town		
		AT	Prim	Prov city		
		Reliever	Prim	Prov city		
W4	Prim	AT	Prim	Met city	Some reo, cult	Fluent
W5	Prim	AT	Prim sch	Country, rural		
		Relieving	Prim sch	Prov city		

Table 8b (continued)

Person	*Training*	*Positions*	*Type of School*	*Location*	*Specialties*	*Comments*
W6	Sec	AT	Sec	Met city	Reo	Fluent
W7	Prim	AT	Int	Met city		
W8	Prim	AT	Prim	Rural		
		Relieving	Prim	Country, rural		
		AT	Sec	Prov city	Home science	
		AT	Prim	Rural		
W9	Sec	PR	Sec	Prov city		Fluent
		Insp	Sec	Prov region	Reo	
W10	Prim	AT	Prim	Country town		Fluent
		PR2	Sec	Prov city		
		Lect	Uni	Prov city		
		Lect	Polytech	Prov city	Trans ed	
W11	Kdrgtn	AT	Kdrgtn	Prov city		
		Adviser	Pre-sch	Prov city		
W12	Prim	AT	Prim	Prov city		Fluent
		ITM	Sec	Prov city	Reo, cult	
		Sen T	Sec	Prov city	Reo, cult	
		Lect	Coll Ed	Prov city	Reo, cult	
W13	Prim	AT	Int	Prov city		Fluent
		AT	DSW girls' sch	Prov city	General & M values	
W14	Prim	AT	Prim	Met city		
W15	Prim	AT	Prim	Country & rural		
W16	Prim	AT	Prim	Country town		Fluent
		Kaiwhakaako	Kura kaupapa dvmt	Country town	Reo, cult	

Table 8b (continued)

Person	*Training*	*Positions*	*Type of School*	*Location*	*Specialties*	*Comments*
W17	Prim	Sen T	Prim	Country town		
		Dep Ppl	Prim	Prov city		
W18	Prim	AT	Int	Prov city	Some reo, cult	Fluent?
		Lect	Uni	Prov city	Maori issues in ed	
W19	Sec	AT	Sec	Prov city		Fluent
		AT	Girls' home	Prov city		
		Jun Lect	Uni	Prov city	Reo	
		Kaiako	Kohanga reo	Country town	Reo	
		Kai-whakaako	Kura kaupapa dvmt	Prov city		
W20	Primary	AT	Prim	Prov city		
		AT	Sec sch	Prov city		
		AT	Sec sch	Country town		
W21	Outpost	AT	Sec	Met city	Commerce	Learnt reo
	Sec	AT	Sec	Country town	Commerce & reo	
W22	Prim	Dep Ppl	Prim		Biling classes	Fluent?
		ITM	Prim sch		Reo	
		Tutor	Prison - adolescents		Reo, religion	
W23	No Coll Ed	AT	Sec	Prov city	Reo, cult	Fluent
		Reliever, PT	Sec, kohanga	Prov city, rural		
W24	Prim	AT	Prim, Maori sch	Rural	Some reo	Fluent
		ITM	Prim	Prov region		
		Adviser	Coll Ed/Polytech	Prov city	Maori ed	
W25	Prim	never taught				

Table 8b (continued)

Person	*Training*	*Positions*	*Type of School*	*Location*	*Specialties*	*Comments*
W26	Prim	AT	Prim	Country town	Some reo, cult	Fluent?
W27	Not known	Ppl Insp	Prim Prim sch	Not known	Included Maori ed	
W28	Sec	AT Policy	Sec Ministry	Met city Met city	Reo, cult Maori ed issues	Fluent?
W29	Prim	AT ITM Policy	Prim Prim Ministry	Met city Met city Met city	Reo, cult	Fluent?
W30	Not Coll Ed	Tutor	Polytech	Prov city	Nurse, Maori issues	Fluent
W31	Sec	AT	Sec	Met city	Some reo	Fluent?

The Occupational Changes Made

Tables 9a and 9b list the occupations participants moved into from teaching, and their current occupations. The reasons for the initial career shifts are discussed in succeeding chapters, as are the reasons why some of the participants are in their current occupations. The stark tabulated summary of Table 9 does not do justice to the rich, varied, and exciting career paths followed by many of these people.

Table 9a

Career Since Resigning the Classroom or School Setting - Men

Code	*Occupation on Resigning*	*Current Occupation*
M1	TV reporter/presenter, Maori prog	TV reporter/researcher Maori prog
M2	Professional theatre	TV director/producer
M3	Journalism course, newspaper, then TV journalist	TV director
M4	Dept Maori Affairs	Personnel mgr, large manufacturer
M5	Local authority - community outreach (arts)	Local authority - community outreach (arts)
M6	Personnel dept, industry	Employee relations director, national company
M7	Insurance agent	Insurance - partner, broking firm
M8	Advisory, inspectorate (te reo)	Redundant/early retirement
M9	Dairying, whanau land, and relieving T	Dairy farmer
M10	Maori Trustee office, mgmt training	Mgmt consultant (self-employed)
M11	Adviser to schools, te reo	Iwi liaison officer, Dept of Conservation
M12	ITM/bilingual school pilot prog	National marae mgr
M13	Police Coll	Police
M14	Adviser, biling course then polytechnic	Liaison officer, Min of Ed
M15	Prison teaching (reo, cult, crafts)	Maori cultural adviser, Dept of Justice
M16	Truck driver	Truck driver
M17	Hotel barman	Boatshed/boat hire mgr, sailing tutor
M18	ACCESS tutor	ACCESS tutor
M19	Polytechnic tutor	Quest Rapuara mgr
M20	Maori cult adviser, Dept of Justice	Maori cult adviser, Dept of Justice

Table 9a (continued)

Code	*Occupation on Resigning*	*Current Occupation*
M21	Farming, whanau land	Prison tutor
M22	Religious training, ministry then teaching at Maori sec sch	Retired
M23	ITM, then horticulturalist for 6 years	DSW
M24	Adviser, Maori and Island Ed	Quest Rapuara mgr
M25	Adviser, Maori Ed	Adviser, Maori Ed
M26	Weighbridge operator, chef, etc	Iwi Trust Board/Maatua Whangai Mokai, 50/50
M27	Early retirement (forced?)	Part-time teacher of te reo, ITA
M28	Dairy farming	Door to door/retired
M29	Liaison officer, Maori Ed, Min of Ed	Liaison officer, Maori Ed, Min of Ed
M30	Relieving teaching	Guide during tourist seasons, relieving teacher
M31	Insurance, then PEP Co-ordinator, Dept of Internal Affairs	MACCESS Co-ordinator for Iwi Trust Board
M32	Freezing worker	Timber process worker and elected union officer
M33	Freezing worker	Learning centre trainee - office skills
M34	Race relations	Manatu Maori - treaty issues
M35	Syllabus dvmt, reo for sch	Project officer (Maori), museum
M36	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Manatu Maori, senior mgmt
M37	Uni study - Maori ed research	ERO policy, Maori ed
M38	Union officer, prim T, Maori issues	Union officer, prim T, Maori issues
M39	Director, community ed centre	Adviser Maori ed, pre-sch to sec
M40	Timber processing	Mgmt, timber processing
M41	Bible distributor	Commercial fisherman
M42	Polytech Maori liaison tutor	Iwi Trust Board secretary/mgr
M43	Iwi history researcher: uni award	Iwi history researcher: uni award

Table 9b

Career Since Resigning the Classroom or School Setting - Women

Code	*Occupation on Resigning*	*Current Occupation*
W1	Author (te reo textbooks, reports, etc)	Author, co-author (te reo, Maori matters)
W2	TV	TV admin/legal asst
W3	Overseas then factory work	Social worker, DSW
W4	Being Maori, involved with Maori issues (unpaid)	Maori issues, MWWL
W5	Uni study, ACCESS tutor, DSW officer	Iwi Trust Board executive officer
W6	Maori radio	Advisory officer, Housing Corp
W7	Maori land issues	"Retired", kaimahi, kura kaupapa Maori
W8	Shop assistant	Shop assistant
W9	Maori ed consultancy, course facilitator	Maori ed consultancy, course facilitator
W10	Uni T	Quest Rapuara mgr
W11	Adviser, pre-sch, including kohanga reo	Adviser, pre-sch, including kohanga reo
W12	ITM	Coll Ed and private consultancy - Maori Ed
W13	Uni	Kaiwhakaako, kura kaupapa
W14	O'seas travel	Officer mgr and presenter, Maori radio
W15	Family	Dairy farmer
W16	Family, ACCESS tutor	Kaiako kura kaupapa
W17	Advisory officer, Quest Rapuara	Advisory officer, Quest Rapuara
W18	Uni lecturer	Uni lecturer, research of Maori ed issues
W19	Uni junior lecturer	Kura kaupapa kaimahi
W20	Family	Quest Rapuara
W21	Maori cult trainer, DSW	Runanga co-ordinator

Table 9b (continued)

Code	*Occupation on Resigning*	*Current Occupation*
W22	Shop owner and whanau land developer	Shop owner and whanau land developer
W23	Orcharding and relieving T, kohanga reo	Retired
W24	ITM	Adviser Maori ed, Coll Ed & polytech
W25	Family	Social worker, DSW
W26	Unemployment	DPB, part-time motel cleaner, kura kaupapa kaimahi
W27	Insp	Reviewer, ERO
W28	Uni T, in and out of sec T since	Policy analyst, learning & assessment in Maori ed
W29	ITM/RTM	Policy analyst, Maori girls and women in ed
W30	ACCESS policy, Ed Dept	Min of Ed, nursing training
W31	Prog mgr, Maori sport	Prog mgr, Maori sport

Other Interviews

The "Other Interviews" subgroup is not analysed in detail, since these interviews were not conducted with the same formality as those of the target group. Several of these interviews were held primarily to assist the authors to establish contact with possible participants and to define possible issues which could or should be pursued. The relevance of certain issues thrown up by the literature surveyed was checked in these discussions. Other interview discussions have also been useful to obtain further insights into some of the issues raised by target group interviewees - some of the "Other Interviewees" who are or were classroom teachers themselves have had experiences similar to the former teachers of direct interest to this study. Their names are included in Appendix 2 and their contributions are woven into the discussions of various issues examined in later chapters.

CHAPTER 4

Why They Resigned

This chapter consists of paraphrased extracts from interview notes. To preserve confidentiality, the person-code bears no relation to that of the tables in the previous chapter.

M1: Uncertainties in teaching and education; insecurity of specialist teachers' roles; staffroom rumours about subjects being dropped; teaching of Maori in school not compulsory; Pakeha children better at Maori than Maori children although Maori often the only subject Maori children passed; Maori treated in a superficial way by the school; I was not well and advisory job in a government department was available; dropped pay to move.

M2: Job at youth learning centre appealed; wanted out of the classroom too; felt we were not doing the children justice; saw too many failures; the system and those in power were often insensitive to Maori issues; Maori children were suffering; had ideas but the system was too conservative to accommodate them; wanted to be free to move among the community.

M3: Was principal at Maori secondary school. When school integrated was told that I could not apply for principal's position because I was not secondary-trained, and had not had experience in state schools. Became senior master but lost heart at changes; couldn't bear to see the school go downhill after all the work I'd done. Left.

W1: Principal and deputy principal left school I was at; school became less well-organised, especially with regard to equipment and discipline. Behaviour of the children was much more difficult; administration believed children came first, staff second. Became deputy principal; no release time, children tougher, lots of administrative work, long, long hours, then "Tomorrow's Schools" with all the attendant extra work. Decided to leave. Looked for other jobs.

M4: Had had difficulties, disappointments with promotions in the past. Jobs at senior level were becoming less secure. Pressures from marae - needed speaker. I was lucky to get out of classroom.

M5: Left after 2 years at first school: found system rigid, inflexible, stifling; also found the power and tyranny of the inspectorate totally unacceptable. Went back to university, then to secondary teaching. Became senior master after some years but left over argument about my dress. Taught at other schools but eventually wanted out of teaching: I had had enough of having to establish Maori and all the attendant difficulties everywhere I went.

M6: Had been teaching deputy principal responsible for bilingual unit; found a great deal of input was required to maintain all the Maori things in the school; could be stressful. Moved to advisory work: different pressures, can assist teachers; not much influence on boards of trustees.

W2: First year secondary teaching of Maori: horrendous workload; all Maori problems as well as my own classes; Maori children dumped in my home room. Then a very hard exhausting year at a girls' home. Moved to junior lectureship at university. Energies now going into kohanga reo and kura kaupapa. Would not return to state system as it stands.

M7: No real permanency or security in teaching: had been relieving 1-year and 2-term stints for some time. Was at a very difficult middle-class school where children had very fixed ideas and principal was very blasé. Was disgruntled with a system I never understood and the lack of support from advisers.

M8: Encouraged to leave to make way for a younger person. Younger less-qualified person cheaper. Still teaching part-time as well as working for Iwi Transition Agency.

W3: Taught at intermediate school 2 years. Maori teachers (3 in my first year, 4 in my second) did everything: own classes, Saturday sport, Maori club, community liaison, expected to be Maori resource for whole school - kuia at 22! Realised other teachers prejudiced, Maori children don't have a show. Got junior lectureship in education in order to affect people who can make changes.

W4: Was pregnant and trying to decide whether to resign or to take maternity leave when I discovered the principal had advertised my job. He had assumed that because I was pregnant I would leave; he never discussed the matter with me. Still surprised I'm out.

W5: Had trained as adult student in outpost course to be commercial teacher. Had to teach Maori after only 2 years of learning it myself; stretched me but I did it. Left because I could only be 1 percent successful: Maori children could not succeed in that system although they were successful at home, on the marae, and are now living successful lives. Was lonely, isolated, criticised for teaching outside the classroom. Saw racism and fear. Many demands for counselling, had to defend Maori children from injustice. Decided to leave.

M9: Enjoyed teaching but daughters wanted to attend Hukarere [Maori Girls College]; couldn't afford to send them on my teacher's salary; went sharemilking which gave me a much better income.

M10: Wanted to shift back home to be close to my parents because my father was in hospital; tried for a job in a school but there was nothing suitable available. Fortunate that a Ministry liaison job came up.

M11: After 5 years teaching went to a school hoping to learn from an excellent senior teacher of junior classes there. Found I was expected to take Maori club, be Maori resource person, be Maori staff, and take the singing. At the end of first year I was asked to set up bilingual unit; protested I was not capable but school went ahead. I was lost; felt I was not yet fully developed as a teacher; had to work with totally new material; had to write philosophy for the school's bilingual programme; had no management skills; had to work with the community to gain support. Wanted ceiling of 20 in the class; overridden by boss - "elitist". Boss objected to parents being in my classroom - "why don't you get them into the other rooms?". Totally burnt out after 1 year. No support from principal; school was advertising new senior bilingual position - never even asked if I was interested. Resigned first week Christmas holidays.

W6: Left the classroom at the time of my father's death to become itinerant teacher of Maori. Left altogether when itinerant teachers of Maori finished. Did not realise how much I was in bondage to teaching: took up my whole life; never finished; long hard slog for 30 years with no sabbatical; didn't realise the stress I had been under until I got out; took a year to wind down. Couldn't face the classroom again when itinerant teacher of Maori finished. Had been in a bilingual position; principal claimed to be supportive but made life very difficult for both teacher and pupils; really only interested in his own promotion. Bought back our whanau land and shifted here to live. It took 3 years to fill the bilingual position because of the impossible conditions of appointment.

M12: Came back to my own tribal area because of the expectations of the people. Was head of the Maori department. Followed a brilliant teacher; hard to follow; both Maori children and parents had difficulty adjusting "don't do it this way"; took 2 years to be accepted. The people had very high expectations: wanted a father figure as well as a teacher. Previous school where I was manuhiri was a lot easier. School also very demanding: powhiri, speech contests, performances, school marae, parents with problems, children with problems, other teachers' disciplinary problems (storming over to my room and interrupting my classes), resource person for everyone. Culmination of a lot of factors. My father's death also a factor. Wonderful feeling of freedom since.

W7: Am now adviser in Maori education. Would never go back to the classroom; the workload is enormous. Maori teachers find classes are often used as a dumping ground for difficult children; the assumption is that Maori teacher knows everything; great deal of counselling; often a ridiculous amount of time spent in creating resources - teachers' own families suffer.

W8: Finished teacher training but did not do a probationary assistant year as I was married and pregnant. After 3 children wrote to see if it was possible to get back into teaching; was told I would have to find a relieving position for a full year in order to get certification. Too difficult, so never have.

M13: Taught for only 1 year which was a very bad experience. Only 3 permanent teachers at the school (principal, senior woman, and me) - all the rest relievers. Very difficult teaching conditions. I had the lowest stream Standard 6 class. I went to the aid of a teacher who was being assaulted by a boy; ended up in a fight with the boy. Was advised to resign and reapply in 2 years. Things may have been different if I had been in a better school, but probably wouldn't have lasted more than 5 years in teaching.

W9: I was a very good teacher but the joy of teaching had gone. I had become very stressed, very tired, felt drained of energy and was finding it hard to bounce back. I was very conscious of the cost of teaching and the conflict with my family life. Establishment of bilingual programme very, very stressful - principal wanted it, staff didn't: accusations of favouritism, resistance to resources being allocated, racist remarks. Community up in arms because hall was needed to establish a whanau system. Not allowed to use bilingual grant to employ a fluent speaker - parents paid $10 each a week for an assistant. I became ill, took a year's leave on medical grounds, then gave up for good.

W10: I became very sick as a result of working in an institution which had been established according to a multicultural model while at the same time being part of a Pakeha-dominated system. The tangata whenua were diminished by a lack of recognition and lack of consultation; a Pakeha woman always did the karanga despite a number of competent Maori women staff; there was Pakeha student resistance to Maori issues course material; Maori students had a difficult time because of curriculum content, teaching styles, evaluation methods; many Maori failures. The frustrations and conflict engendered by "we're all the same people" model and the superficial approach to Maori issues made me ill. I was also looking for a position of influence so that I could bring about change.

M14: I had become disenchanted with Maori schools and the position of Maori children in other schools. I believe the education system needs Maori values and structural change; I believe the system is racist and that the institutional racism involved in education inhibits Maori people. I believe that Maori teachers (often men) frequently hold schools together (discipline, sport, etc.) - especially in intermediates; that they have little input to policy or organisational matters in schools; and that Maori teachers are sometimes discriminated against in promotion. When I left I went to university seeking answers to questions. Decided to seek position where I could influence change.

M15: Left to work as a teachers' union executive officer. I'm here specifically to improve Maori education (not really a committed unionist). I have guaranteed autonomy, I can be involved in change, and the salary is better. I liked teaching and liked being a principal, especially working with the community, but the hierarchical aspects of the system, the mindless collecting of statistics, the role of the inspectorate, and the stifling of creativity were very unattractive.

W11: I left because I was unable to attain a position of responsibility in my school because I had been teaching for only 5 years. The pay is low (I have almost doubled my income in my current job) and teacher morale was low because of the transition from the old system to "Tomorrow's Schools". Budget restrictions were making it difficult to obtain support for extracurricular activities, and there was no recognition in pay or promotion for those who worked hard for students out of school hours. I would have stayed if I could have obtained a position as head of department.

M16: I became a secondary school adviser at the education centre because my wife was in a position she liked at a total immersion school in her own tribal area. She had been commuting and I needed a break from an isolated school so decided to shift closer to where she was working. Bringing up our children in one or other of their own tribal areas was also an issue.

M17: I came home because my mother was sick. I didn't realise that by resigning the position I held at the time I was doing myself out of a job. I couldn't get a permanent position in my own area. I relieved at quite a number of schools but needed security so worked for 9 years at one of the big processing plants in the area. I then taught in a bilingual programme for 15 months. I found bilingual teaching much tougher than general classroom teaching; it required very long hours of preparation and I felt ill-equipped; I needed specialist training for the job but was unable to get it. I left after 15 months because I felt I wasn't doing justice to the children. I would go back like a flash if I could get proper training.

M18: After my probationary assistant year I took a year's leave to distribute bibles. I was intending to return to teaching but my father had a heart attack and I had to farm for 18 months to support my younger brothers and sisters. I then worked at a timber yard contract labouring - the pay was more than double what I would have got teaching. I did not consider teaching again after that.

M19: The school I was teaching at closed; otherwise I would have stayed. I would have applied for another school but I was offered a polytech job. It was only after I was out that I realised how stressful teaching was. Seeing children failing or not getting anywhere is stressful. Teachers' job satisfaction depends on seeing children succeeding and getting somewhere.

M20: Was teaching as deputy principal; heard of the proposed itinerant teacher of Maori scheme; asked to be involved in setting it up. Was also involved in setting up first planned bilingual school and training of teachers for bilingual teaching.

M21: During my probationary assistant year I had to resit an exam - theory of physical education - which I had failed at teachers college. As I remember it, quite a lot of it concerned folk dancing. I failed again which meant I couldn't be certificated and had to leave teaching. I enjoyed my probationary assistant year; I had good support at the school and thought I was doing well; I had always wanted to be a teacher and was looking forward to teaching as a career.

M22: Did not leave teaching because I didn't like it. Left from position as principal in my home area (my elders had told me to return home) because of other opportunities available. Teaching is very stressful; some Maori teachers are carrying the load of at least 2 people.

W12: Was involved in planning bilingual unit for a college. Too many compromises sought. Was expected to be co-ordinator, teacher, and everything else. Why start a bilingual unit if you can see it is going to fail or wear you down? I left. Now involved in preparing materials for Maori language teachers and off-campus training for kaiarahi reo.

M23: I trained as a primary teacher and taught primary for some years. I finished a degree and eventually taught in 2 metropolitan secondary schools. In the first, a very academic co-ed, Maori was considered a second-rate subject and barely tolerated. I was given a small room at the back and got the problem kids. I tried to work with Maori club but it was hopeless - always "tacked on", could never get it timetabled, always competing with sports. Was expected to provide powhiri without notice but could not be Maori myself. I was very lonely - no staff to talk to about my subject, no department, never sure how well you were doing - School Certificate results only indication. Was not expected to deal with other Maori children; it was a very conservative school and they were likely to be belted; some dropped out. At the second school 30 percent of the roll was Maori. There were 4 Maori teachers, which provided mutual support, and the principal tried to support us; the staff was good too but we were still lumbered with all the Maori discipline - working with pupils, parents, police, and having to defuse tense situations for other teachers. Uniform issues were a constant battle. I left to go to the Department. I was glad to get out of secondary teaching.

M24: I enjoyed teaching but was offered a job in Foreign Affairs by one of their senior staff. It seemed to be a very challenging opportunity and my wife was able to get a university job in Wellington at the same time so I decided to give it a go.

W13: I left from being a resource teacher of Maori because I became sick from the stress of trying to do an impossible job: areas are far too large, can't carry out the roles, no support mechanisms, have to decide on priorities which results in guilt. We were supposed to work with teachers, not children, but we would relieve for teachers so that they could prepare materials. Teachers were also under stress. Total immersion teachers have no career prospects and the work they do is frequently not recognised by boards of trustees. Some principals want Maori in their schools for their own personal advancement (it looks good on their CVs) and for the funding the school gains from it. I had to get out.

W14: In my early teaching days I developed Maori as a subject at a large urban secondary school. I was the only Maori there and the situation brought about weird stress diseases. I began to ask myself why I was doing it. A job at university got me out. Teachers are not trained for all the things they have to do in schools. Staff in schools often have very negative attitudes to things Maori. The responsibilities most Maori teachers carry warrant senior positions. Very good Maori teachers are often passed over for promotion.

W15: Not trained as a teacher. A teacher of Maori was needed at the school my husband was at. Taught there and at other schools for some years. Became busy with other projects. Wouldn't go back now - children are too hard.

M25: Became disillusioned with what I was doing; partly my fault as I did not want seniority. Class of intermediate at-risk children, then secondary at-risk, then itinerant teacher of Maori secondment for 2 years. Then back to same intermediate - at-risk kids again. Lost freshness, no variety (had had top classes for music and English at one time as well as at-risk class), lacked job satisfaction, losing patience, couldn't stand noise level. Grabbed opportunity in theatre and TV.

W16: I really loved teaching and we had a great system going at the girls' secondary school I was at: 7 Maori teachers; bilingual classes in most subjects; successful Maori students. New principal destroyed everything we'd worked for for years: no support; everything by the book; timetabling problems; tokenism. Maori teachers gradually left. I took a drop in pay to get out.

M26: Sheer hard slog of taking special classes. They had special needs but were given no concessions. Trapped by a rigid system and old-fashioned inspector. No effort to teach self-discipline in schools. Parents' expectations that school will do everything.

M27: Was intending to go back to university to do M.A. By chance offered job in Te Karere [TV Maori language news bulletin]; didn't want to do it unprepared so took journalism course, worked in newspapers, then TV. Enjoyed teaching while involved.

M28: Liked the bit of teaching I did, but financially a struggle. Basic grade clerks in government were getting more than secondary teachers. Joined Maori Affairs and was able to complete degree (in Maori). Would have stayed in teaching if I could have taught Maori. Have done a lot of night teaching to adults since.

M29: Invited to position of taking arts to Auckland communities. Should have gone years earlier: teachers have tunnel vision, one-track minds; unaware of the wide world.

M30: Couldn't get a job when I returned from overseas. Couldn't even get relieving because I arrived back in October (relievers not needed late in the year). Got a personnel/training job through a management consultant friend.

M31: Didn't want to be part of a wave of change which seemed to be coming (liberal attitudes to discipline, etc.). Question of style. Salary low - much better in insurance. Opportunities to be involved in Maori things in the community with the freedom of time and better money. I could not have been as involved as I have in Maori things if I had stayed in teaching.

M32: Moved into advisory, inspectorate. Chose Education Review Office; thought could achieve things there. Lough Report - could see things closing in. Took enhanced early retirement rather than reapply.

M33: Came back to help Dad on farm when he was sick. Milked cows and taught for some years. Now full-time farmer.

W17: Could not get permanent job when returned from overseas. Worked in factory 9 months. Got job in Department of Social Welfare. Did some relieving while on maternity leave; tried to get back into teaching. Couldn't.

W18: I trained for primary as an adult student. Conflict between teaching and being Maori. Principal was good about hui, tangi, etc., but I got sick of having to explain. Emotional experience of taking Te Maori boulder back to Invercargill - resigned the next week. Also arthritis, husband's death. Don't miss it, but enjoyed it.

M34: Probationary assistant year at a school with 45-50 percent Maori roll. Principal did not want Maori programme in the school. Conflict developed between principal and me. Also great difficulty in getting access to resources. Inspector was called in, transferred me. Opportunity offered at Maori Trust Office. Teaching pay not good.

W19: First year - left after first term. Not good at controlling kids. Inspector (who gave several Maori teachers a hard time) suggested I should consider another career. Went nurse aiding for 18 months. Then started teacher certification year again. Awarded certificate but was unable to obtain permanent position. Relieved for some time. Offered ACCESS literacy job (18 months). Then to Department of Social Welfare and District Executive Committee officer and then to Tribal Trust Board.

W20: Frustrated at large secondary school. Maori only an elective; mainly Maori pupils from lower socioeconomic background. Was more of a social worker; "loose ends" from other teachers; my style incompatible with other teachers; lack of recognition/support; hostility to things Maori from some other teachers. The system made life very difficult for Maori pupils.

W21: Conflict between my Maori consciousness and schools/principals. Talked about real life experience of being a Maori; organised land march - principal angry. Left. Relieved at 2 schools with vocational classes - used as dumping ground for "troublemakers". Racist principal; discrimination against Maori very bad in the school; I refused to teach social studies syllabus because I did not believe it to be true. Got out before I was sacked.

W22: I was a strict no-nonsense teacher. Thought I was getting too hard on the children. Was finding it more stressful. Decided to leave. Considerable drop in pay to become a shop assistant.

M35: Shifted from primary to secondary out of sour grapes. Missed out on position I wanted (application "late", although it was sent in plenty of time). Then adviser for over 4 years. Cynical about Education Review Office. Left education in order to return to grandchildren.

M36: Had always wanted to join Police but thought I was too short. After teaching 3 years found I was eligible. At the time teacher's salary £600, started in Police at £940 and free uniforms. Also attractions of adventure, and reimbursement and leave for overtime.

W23: Stayed in to make a stand for our people. Occupied all of the senior positions and positions of responsibility within schools and the department. Had to be twice as good as anyone else. Disagree with deficit approach. Now concentrating on spreading ancient teachings from Hawaiki. Also concerned with what we share with other cultures.

M37: Resigned (principal) to take up a fellowship in Maori history because I couldn't get leave from my board of trustees. Had time out earlier when went to freezing works after probationary assistant year. Had experienced difficulties in gaining promotion at times.

W24: Disenchanted with system, especially after witnessing racism while working with Aborigines in Australia. Realised how system in New Zealand was damaging Maori children. Also eroding my Maori self - had to leave.

W25: Moved from kindergarten to preschool adviser. Interesting job, more diverse than kindergarten teaching which has fairly strict routines. Opportunity to do something for Maori education. Pay better but miss holidays.

M38: Became very interested in things Maori. Returned to home district. Relieved for 2 years. Itinerant teacher of Maori, then deputy principal - told "not too much Maori here thank you". Adviser to secondary - supporting Te Atakura teachers. Bilingual training course then polytechnic teaching. Institutional racism there. Position cut to half-time by polytech because of my involvement with 1990, Waitangi, and other things Maori. Resigned. Six months with kaumatua, attended indigenous people's conference. Now at Ministry of Education - to help Maori take [concerns].

W27: Had taught nearly 4 years in Department of Social Welfare home for teenage girls. Decided I couldn't face 10 more years of the terrible stories of the girls' lives. Heard of job in bridging programme for Maori adults (second chance) at university. Got it. Had left intermediate at which I did probationary assistant year because the principal was classist, racist, sexist. Had been shouted at for giving a cup of tea in the staffroom to a Maori solo Mum who was upset at what had happened to her daughter at the school - called "disloyal".

M39: Loved children and loved teaching but disenchanted with the system: had to compromise my beliefs, my language, and my values. Partnership requires a structural shift. System is racist. All odds are stacked against the Maori child; School Certificate is totally unfair. Made dean but no extra pay; I was always at the reactive end.

M40: Health deteriorated - result of long hours of preparation and marking; also studying extramurally. Was losing grip - kids more difficult. I was slipping. Doctor advised me to get out. Not due to Maori issues.

W28: Couldn't stand all the paper work; didn't really want to teach in the first place (family pressure); should be able to judge teaching by looking at the children, not by paper work; hours too demanding; family hassles.

M41: Was sharing an open-plan classroom with principal who was often out of the classroom. Smacked a strong, slow boy who was fighting (he was one of the principal's class). No complaint from the parents but principal called in school committee and the inspector. Inspector was supportive but said the behaviour was unprofessional. Not asked to leave but did so at the end of the year. Have taught and relieved since but confidence was damaged. Completely out now.

W29: Left to devote time to bringing up children. Believe that class sizes are too big and discipline too demanding now.

W30: Had been on maternity leave for a year, then resigned. Decided to go back. Applied for my old job (which specified Maori) when it was advertised (1989). Didn't get it. Appointment was not Maori. Got work as literacy/numeracy tutor. Now opening kura kaupapa school for the families of committed Maori parents.

M42: Loneliness as the only Maori teacher on the staff; having to deal with all the Maori problems in the school; the demands of dealing with Maori children's social problems (pregnancy, family disputes, kids missing at 2 a.m.); all the counselling - problems often caused by the official guidance counsellor; years of battling to defend Maori children from injustice in the school system; upset that Maori children saw dole queue as only future; conflict with school structure. Dropped pay to move.

M43: Was asked to establish a bilingual class. Given all kohanga reo graduates and all the other Maori children in the school - 33 children between 5 and 11 - the only mixed ages/mixed abilities class in the school. Worked at total immersion as didn't believe in bilingual. School torpedoed us - no support from advisers, no gear or resources, other staff couldn't understand what was happening in the classroom. I got sick: desperately wanted to see the programme succeed, hated to see Maori things fail, hated to fail our friends and their children. Principal tried to provide help at late stage but commitment was lacking. The job and the system were impossible, "too much". Staff attitudes to Maori things dreadful. I was at risk myself. Left at the end of the year, needed counselling.

Even after a lengthy interview, we remained unclear about the reasons for one remaining woman's resignation; it could have been to devote more time to family orcharding and farming.

CHAPTER 5

Issues Raised by the Former Classroom Teachers

During the course of our interviews with Maori former teachers a number of issues occurred again and again, which alone or in combinations were root causes of some teachers' resignations, at least from the classroom and school environment, if not from education altogether. We record some of the major issues as they were presented to us.

Applying for Teacher Training

Reasons for Applying

Table 10 summarises the reasons given by former teachers for undertaking teacher training. While a proportion of those we interviewed said they had always wanted to be teachers, had played school (with themselves in the starring role) ever since they could remember, and had never wanted to be anything else, a considerable number had applied for teacher training for other reasons. Many were encouraged into teaching as a career by their schools (particularly Maori boarding schools) and by their families. The profession was seen as an honourable one, filling an important role and conferring status. For men who attended Maori boarding schools more than a decade ago teaching, the armed forces, and the police seem to have been the main vocational options, although one or two also looked to the church. For females the options appear to have been more limited - teaching, nursing, and dental nursing.

For many of the people we interviewed, university was never considered. It was expensive and often thought to be beyond the realm of possibility. Quite a number did not have qualifications beyond School Certificate, and further secondary education was not considered because of the financial situation of their families. Teacher training was, in fact, the only possibility of obtaining tertiary training. Teacher training had the advantage of paying an allowance which would make the young person independent of the family (who were often unable to help anyway). In the days when a teacher training institution was operating at Ardmore, the provision of good supervised board was especially important for those from remote country areas. The position of teacher was highly respected by Maori families, and teacher training was probably the most obvious choice for an intelligent young Maori person of the time.

Table 10

Reasons for Attending Teachers' College

	Reason(s) Given	*Men*	*Women*
1.	Always wanted to be a teacher (from childhood/always played teacher at games)	5	7
2.	Was keen on sport - teachers' college was ideal; good teams, coaching, time available	4	-
3.	Family tradition of teaching	6	4
	Family encouraged/expected/pressured/(conned) me to teachers' college	8	7
	Family discouraged manual work as a career	3	2
	Had relatives already at or also going to teachers' college at same time as me	2	2
	Had to accompany close relative to city and teachers' college	-	1
	Wanted to please family, tribe	-	2
	Was aware of need for more Maori teachers	1	-
	Teachers were very respected people/teaching a very respected profession at home	1	1
	University was not an option for us - "aura" was too high	1	-
4.	Was only way to get to/stay at university; needed studentship/ Div C income	2	2
	Teachers' college was salaried - family could not afford any other education for me	6	2
5.	School expectations focused on teaching, ministry, or armed forces careers for Maori men	7	-
	School expectations focused on teaching, nursing, or dental nursing careers for Maori women	-	2

Table 10 (continued)

	Reason(s) Given	*Men*	*Women*
	Getting School Cert was great achievement in our district/ school - had to teach	1	-
	Had leadership roles at school - liked these - teaching seemed like a continuation	1	-
6.	Was encouraged by friends, others	1	2
	Was inspired by influential people (teachers/role models/ advisers)	4	3
	At teachers' college would be with friends; none at other tertiary institutions or careers	3	2
7.	Was a stepping stone to preferred career (ministry, educational psychology, social work etc.)	2	1
	Finished degree, Div C was the logical option	2	-
8.	Applied for various training careers; teachers' college replied first	5	1
	Was rejected by my preferred career choice	3	1
	Had other training/career first, then switched to teaching	-	2
	Got tutoring assignments in previous career, switched to teaching/tutoring full time	-	1
	Drifted into teaching; not planned	2	1
	Wanted other career, but ended up in teaching	8	4
	Couldn't afford preferred career	1	1
	Would have been happier in preferred career	2	1

Table 10 (continued)

	Reason(s) Given	*Men*	*Women*
9.	Was junior assistant at local school - loved it, decided to train	2	-
	Got interested through involvement with my own children's education	-	1
	Teaching would fit in with my own children's school holidays	-	1
	Got School Cert and U.E. as adult student, then encouraged to attend teachers' college	-	1
	Was encouraged as adult to enter outpost training	-	1
	Fluent speaker of te reo - became interested as adult in teaching Maori language	2	-
	Fluent speaker of te reo - local school needed a teacher of Maori	1	1
10.	Was escape from home/home district	-	4
	Was escape from farming, cows	3	1
	Was escape from Form 6 or Form 7 at school	1	1
11.	Was spontaneous - selection interviews for teachers' college next week; attended, selected	-	1
	Attended a teachers' college student party - "was beaut! This is the place for me!"	1	-
	Previous year's applicants had had a great time on their trip to Gisborne for selection	-	1

Some of those who began their training without the personal commitment considered to be a significant factor in teacher retention taught for a considerable number of years, apparently very successfully. A very small number consider that they were never very suited to teaching and left as soon as an opportunity arose. All acknowledged the considerable benefits teacher training made available to them. Most of those now in office or advisory positions obtained their positions because of the skills they acquired during teacher training and teaching itself. A considerable number of those working in business or government agencies are involved in training tasks which depend on their teaching skills. Some pointed out the benefits to their iwi from having teaching skills available for organisational tasks and for designing training packages. The training as a teacher proved useful whether or not they had had an initial commitment to teaching.

There seems to be no doubt that many of the leaders in today's iwi development are people who underwent teacher training. Although they are not working in classrooms at present, their skills have not been lost to Maoridom nor to society at large, and their training could be considered a personal and social investment. Some, in fact, are now directly involved in tribal management roles and/or tribal liaison roles in government or local authority agencies because of their professional training and skills; some were "shoulder-tapped" by their tribal elders to return home to take up these roles.

Reasons given for entering teacher training include:

- Went at my parents' insistence because my sister was going, even though I really wanted to be a nurse.
- Applied so that I could go on the bus trip to Gisborne for the interview (the previous year's group had had a wonderful time); my year they decided to hold the interviews in my home town.
- Wanted to get away from home.
- Wanted to escape the cows.
- Applied for several things but acceptance for teachers' college came back first.
- Had been to some teachers' college student parties when I visited relatives.
- Was turned down by the army because 2 of my fingers were missing, even though I was in the champion NZ secondary schools shooting team at the time.
- Was very good at sport, and teachers' college and teaching seemed to be the best way of advancing my sport - good coaching, good teams, time off for tours, etc. [from a number of males].
- Heard the ratio of women to men at teachers' college was 7:1.

The influence of both school and family seems to have been very strong for many of the former teachers in their decision to become involved in teacher training. It is difficult to say whether this is a Maori matter or a sign of the "old days". No doubt some Pakeha young people of the same era were encouraged or instructed to follow a particular career in much the same way. A number of the males who left school and became involved in manual labouring jobs were interviewed by their elders after a year or so, told that they were wasting their talents and that they were to train as teachers. The expectations for those who had attended Maori boarding schools were particularly high.

One young woman in recent times was bribed into attending teachers' college by her father who assured her that if she didn't like it after a year he would pay back the bond that applied at that time. When she called on him to honour the agreement he refused and she finished her training, although she taught for only a short time.

A small number applied for teacher training after being a junior assistant in Maori schools for a year or two - a common way of entry in former years.

Fees for Teacher Training

Teacher training was the only tertiary training option many young Maori considered because it was the only one they could afford. Their school qualifications proved also to be a determining factor. The situation has now changed; at the time of writing course fees have to be paid and a standard tertiary bursary has replaced the training allowance.

Financially teacher training may no longer be an option for young Maori people, especially for those who come from rural areas where it is very difficult to find lucrative holiday work. If this is the case it may well be a tragedy. Not only will the teaching service be losing potentially good teachers, some of whom are probably fluent speakers of te reo, but the young Maori people themselves will be missing the opportunity to acquire a wide range of skills which are valuable for many careers, and the opportunity to study at university (which many of our interviewees have done over the years, some in later life).

The knowledge and skills gained in the course of teacher training and in teaching will also be lost to their whanau, their hapu, and their iwi, and to the community at large.

Teacher Training

While there was, on the whole, reasonable satisfaction with the teacher training they had received, a number of criticisms emerged.

Training in Te Reo, in Tikanga Maori, and in Teaching Maori Children

Up until very recently it appears that training in any aspect of Maori has been virtually non-existent. We were quite shocked to hear again and again that despite the fact that many of the former teachers attended colleges of education as part of "the Maori quota" specifically to teach in "Maori schools", they received no training at all in te reo Maori, in Maori values and culture, nor in the teaching of Maori children. The students themselves frequently formed Maori clubs at their colleges in order to support each other, to share their culture and, in a few cases, to develop their skills in Maori language.

Training in Basic Teaching Skills

Some of the more recent graduates in primary teaching (those trained in the last 15 years) were critical of the training they had received in basic teaching skills such as the teaching of reading and the teaching of mathematics. A few said that they had very little idea about how to teach reading when they left college, that very little time had been spent on training in that skill, and that they had only acquired the necessary expertise by the good fortune of being placed with excellent teachers "on section" or through very high quality assistance and supervision in their first years of teaching. They believed that the skills should be acquired at college and that it was too risky to expect trainees to pick up the skills as a result of fortunate placements. They believed that more time should be allocated to these basic skills in the programme, and that the training should be both focused and practical. Most acknowledged the importance of theoretical aspects as a basis for understanding why certain methods are used, but believed they were no substitute for practical skills and techniques. A few felt they had never in fact acquired the necessary skills in any comprehensive way.

Secondary Teacher Training

There was some comment about the teaching skills acquired through courses for secondary teachers. A number of former secondary teachers thought that far too much time in secondary teacher training was spent on subject matter, syllabus content, and educational theory and far too little on practical teaching skills, relationships with pupils and classes, school administration, discipline, and the myriad tasks expected of a teacher outside the classroom. Some former secondary teachers commented that primary-trained teachers had much better skills in actual teaching techniques, and some who had transferred from primary teaching to secondary teaching said that their primary training was invaluable in secondary teaching. A few claimed that secondary teacher training is too short to achieve what is necessary for successful teaching.

Skills Needed in Both Primary and Secondary Teaching

Former teachers in both primary and secondary services believed that all trainees should learn how the education system works, what services are available and how to use them, the structure of schools, and such practical matters as how to manage composite or mixed ability classes. Conflict resolution, listening skills, and awareness of what children bring from their background were considered to be important for all teachers too. Most former teachers believed that all teacher trainees should be required to demonstrate understanding of Maori values and culture, Maori etiquette and protocol, Maori child/adult relationships, and the sort of body language signals Maori children often emit instead of asking for teacher help. Knowledge of other Polynesian and Asian cultures is becoming increasingly important too.

Training in Bilingual Education

There appears to be a serious need for training in bilingual education. There seems no doubt that bilingual teaching is a very specialised skill, that many interviewees who had been involved in bilingual teaching felt inadequately prepared for the task they were carrying out, and that there is a well-developed pedagogy of bilingualism which could be made available to teachers. One interviewee, fluent in te reo, returned to teaching after some years in timber processing, but found that despite his fluency he was not properly prepared for the bilingual classes he was given and was keen to teach. Because at that time there was no in-service training readily available, he resigned after 15 months to return to industry, rather than continue to perform below his own standards. He stated that had he been able to have a 3- to 6-month course in bilingual teaching, he would have remained in classroom teaching, which he otherwise enjoyed.

Some effort to redress this difficulty was being made at the time of writing by at least one college of education by way of part-time, outpost training. A nationwide commitment may be necessary in order to solve the matter on a realistic scale.

One commentator who was particularly interested in the 1-year, bilingual, in-service training course for teachers said that many who attend the course do not go back to their bilingual classes or schools. He believed that about half return to their host schools while others transfer to other schools, or to advisory or tertiary positions. The benefit to children is limited.

Some individual comments:

- There is a need for a 1-year course in bilingual and total immersion teaching for ex-teachers.
- I am too embarrassed to attend the bilingual course available now because of my own language skills.
- All teachers should be trained in kaupapa Maori.

Training in the Teaching of Pacific Islands Polynesian Children

Several former teachers expressed shame and frustration at the very poor preparation they had received in understanding the values, needs, social customs, and behaviour patterns of Pacific Islands Polynesian children. They said that they had found it very difficult to interpret the signals they were receiving from such children, and that they were ashamed to find that they had been behaving in ways which were seriously offensive to some of them. These teachers believed that they should have received very specific training in such matters as values, customs, attitudes to knowledge and the transmission of information and skills, adult-child relationships in the various cultures, body language, child-rearing patterns, roles of children, and family life styles. In some cases they felt they had done very little to advance the education of Pacific Islands Polynesian children because of their own ignorance.

Residential Teachers' Training

Every one of those who had attended Ardmore Teachers' College (including some Pakeha) spoke in absolutely glowing terms of their experience of attending a residential teachers' college. While they did not always approve of course content (especially the lack of Maori content), those who trained there regarded the residential facilities, the sports facilities, including excellent coaching, and also the fact that they were able to be part of very strong sports teams and part of a real community as very positive experiences.

The residential facility seems to have been particularly important for young people who had grown up in the country and who had had no experience of city life. Some remarked that their pleasures were very innocent at Ardmore - no drugs, and very little drink. One said that an important aspect was that regular meals kept students healthy and that most of his Maori friends who had gone to Wellington ended up with tuberculosis or pleurisy because of their living conditions. Some said they would not have survived the training if they had had to live by themselves in private board. One claimed that living in shared accommodation with so many other Maori from different places "helped us become aware of our Maoriness". It seems that living on site with all the other trainees had a strong supportive effect especially for young Maori, in terms of study, in being able to get help with difficult aspects of the course, and in social and emotional terms. One cynic remarked of the closure of Ardmore "they always kill things which succeed for Maori".

Te Atakura Training

The researchers did not interview any Te Atakura-trained former teachers; 2 of the interviewees had attended the experimental pre-Te Atakura training courses. Quite a number of interviewees commented on Te Atakura training. Their comments included:

- Taking Maori adults away from their families and homes for a year can have detrimental effects on family life; some marriage breakdowns have been attributed to Te Atakura training.

- One year's training for people who have no experience in education is too short; in fact the trainees are set up to fail.

- Some people who enter Te Atakura training may be too old to adapt to the demands placed on a teacher of Maori.

- Some Te Atakura-trained teachers have very few practical teaching skills when they reach the classroom.

- When Te Atakura-trained teachers go into their first teaching positions they need considerable support; if the support is not available all sorts of problems are likely to develop.

- Te Atakura-trained teachers have difficulties establishing themselves as teachers because other staff who have degrees and teacher training are unwilling to regard them as equal colleagues. (Primary-trained teachers who move into secondary positions have a similar problem.)

- Many Te Atakura-trained beginning teachers find themselves with responsibility for everything Maori the minute they arrive in their first school; they have no opportunity to develop their classroom skills properly.

- People who begin Te Atakura training often have no idea about what they can expect to face in schools; an ex-principal whose school was regularly used for section placements for Te Atakura trainees said that when trainees arrived for their first section he could see them visibly reeling and wilting at the impact of the sight, smell, routines, and population density of a school in operation. He said many were overwhelmed and would start to drop out as sick from the second week.

Some Other Comments on Training

- At teachers' college I was very schizoid; I was trying to succeed in the Pakeha system but I needed the Maori support.

- Teachers' college "trains out" Maori and "trains in" Pakeha.

- Monocultural guidance counselling training may be quite unsuitable for Maori guidance counsellors.

- Trainees need experience of teaching first - before the theory. Content is directed at people who do not know what they're talking about.

- Unbending attitudes of some Maori lecturers in universities and teachers' colleges confirm the prejudices of some students.

- There is sometimes adverse reaction to Maori content at teachers' colleges.

- Trainees need much more long-term practice in the classroom.

Induction to Teaching

Interviewees were asked questions about their first year of teaching: whether it was a good experience or not, what sort of class or classes they were given, who acted as support people, how helpful the principal and staff were, and what problems they encountered. For most, their first year of teaching was a very positive experience in which they adjusted to their new role, learnt a great deal about the reality of teaching, and received encouragement and support from both principal and staff. Only a small proportion reported serious problems. These were attributed to:

- complete incompatibility in matters of philosophy and style between the new teacher and the staff member appointed as the new teacher's associate;

- being allocated a very difficult class;

- being overloaded with tasks and demands because of being "the Maori teacher" (usually in intermediate or secondary schools);

- disliking the general climate of the school, which was sometimes perceived as being racist;

- difficulties with the principal, particularly over matters to do with the treatment of Maori children in the school, the status of Maori language and access to resources;

- the demands for paper work, especially the detailed work plans required in primary schools;

- and, in one case, very unsympathetic treatment from a Maori community which regarded the new teacher as being tribally and personally unsuitable.

One first-year teacher found she had not been allocated a class at all. As a result she seemed to have very little status in the school, and most people thought she was a student. She begged for a class but did not get one until May.

Maori males seem to have some problems in being accepted in rural communities. Rugby prowess has solved the problem for a number. Sporting ability and involvement have been important in healing breaches or prejudices in other circumstances too.

The Workload

Primary Teaching

For some Maori teachers who work as ordinary classroom teachers in schools which serve a predominantly Pakeha community, the workload may not differ greatly from that of a Pakeha teacher. There may be additional expectations of the Maori teacher as a resource person on all Maori matters, as "The School Maori" who provides powhiri or mihi whenever required, and as the school's contact with Maori families. The Maori teacher may also be asked to deal with difficult matters such as Maori children's health or hygiene. The extent to which these additional expectations become onerous depends on a number of factors, such as the number of Maori families with children at the school, the number of Maori children at the school, and the number of other Maori people on the school staff.

For those involved in bilingual or total immersion classes the workload and the stress multiply very quickly. In addition to the expectations mentioned above, some of the factors involved are:

- the need for constant community consultation and involvement in order to make the programme work;
- the need to design a programme which meets the needs and aspirations of children, parents, school, and community;
- the need to design a programme which achieves bilingual goals (although the teacher may have very little knowledge or understanding of the concepts or techniques of bilingualism);
- the need to convince the other school staff and the general community of the value of bilingualism and the importance of te reo for Maori children;
- the need to overcome ignorant and prejudiced attitudes on the part of school boards of trustees, school staff, parents of children at the school, and the general community;
- the need to make many of the resources necessary to teach in bilingual or total immersion classes (a number of former teachers told us of working to midnight almost every night just to have enough materials to operate in the classroom the following day - converting maths gear and exercises to Maori, creating stories in te reo, games, charts, and so on were almost daily tasks);
- the need to overcome difficulties such as large class numbers, inadequate facilities, limited access to resources, and personal limitations in fluency and training;

- the overwhelming responsibility of being successful in a Maori matter, especially when the right to learn one's own language has been such a long battle;

- the conflict engendered by being accountable to the Maori community and to the school system which is very European;

- the inevitable conflicts which arise between trying to teach in a way appropriate to Maori children and the expectations of an administration which has only a limited understanding of Maori culture, values, and teaching methods;

- and the expectations of Maori parents that the Maori teacher will provide everything their child needs.

There is no doubt that the workload of a primary bilingual or total immersion teacher is enormous, and that conflicts are often created by the differing demands and expectations of the Maori community, the school, and the community-at-large. One matter which seems to cause a great deal of trouble for teachers is the matter of having a fluent speaker in the classroom. Some former teachers who had good teaching skills but only limited fluency in te reo found it very difficult to convince their school administrations of the absolute necessity of having a fluent speaker in the classroom. Even though eligible schools have been receiving the Maori language funding factor, which amounts in some cases to significant funds for Maori language, they are sometimes reluctant to make that money available for the teaching of Maori language. Few of the former teachers had been allowed to decide how the Maori language funding was to be spent in their schools. One interviewee told us that her school would not allow her to use the Maori language factor funding to employ a fluent assistant and that she asked the parents to contribute $10 each a week to pay to have a fluent speaker in the classroom. Another said that the money had been put towards a computer in her school on the grounds that Maori children's education would also benefit. A parent, encountered by chance in the course of the study, said that he pays $100 per term to pay for a kaiarahi reo in his children's bilingual class in Christchurch.

Intermediate Teaching

A number of former teachers interviewed commented on the expectations intermediate schools have of Maori teachers. One said he believed male Maori teachers hold many intermediates together. A female former teacher told us the Maori teachers at the intermediate she worked at took all the Saturday sport (netball, rugby, softball) for the entire school.

Maori teachers at intermediates seem to have a number of roles besides their normal classroom duties. These include responsibilities for te reo Maori, taha Maori, and Maori club; resource person on all Maori matters; discipline of all Maori children at the school; counselling of Maori children, Maori parents, and other teachers on the staff; contact person with Maori families on the school's behalf; resident powhiri/mihi provider; and frequently considerable involvement in music, drama, and sport. For some reason male Maori teachers often fill disciplinarian roles for the whole school, although this is often on an informal (unpaid!) basis. A senior staff member may in fact be delegating the responsibility. In the

67

past this has often involved the administration of corporal punishment. Teachers at intermediate schools were used to being allocated classes which were likely to include all the difficult Maori children in the school (and sometimes the difficult Pakehas too). Some had found this a very heavy burden in their early years of teaching.

Secondary Teaching

The Maori secondary teacher faces most of the same tasks as the intermediate teacher: being resource person, being the school Maori, discipline of Maori children, counselling of pupils, parents, and teachers, and the Maori club. Some of the tasks become more complex as the children grow older: this is partly because of adolescent behaviour and partly because Maori teenagers sometimes refuse to accept treatment they consider to be insulting or offensive.

We were frequently told of incidents which began as very minor matters (for example, school uniform matters) but which escalated to become extremely serious confrontations between the Maori teenager and the administration, sometimes culminating in "Either he (or she) leaves or I do" on the part of a staff member or deputy principal. Some of these confrontations have arisen as a result of cultural misunderstanding, insensitivity, or sometimes what appears to be gross ignorance on the part of school staff. A number of incidents, such as those to do with school uniforms, could be related to poverty.

Maori secondary teachers often become embroiled in these battles, not because they teach the child concerned, nor because they have any special expertise in the field. Sometimes they become involved because they cannot bear to stand by and watch injustice being done to a Maori child; sometimes because the child or family seeks the Maori teacher's help to deal with the power of the system; and sometimes because the teacher and/or administrator involved marches the Maori child (often by physical coercion) to the Maori teacher's door and demands that he or she becomes involved. Some former teachers say that it was extremely difficult to teach in any consistent or coherent way because of constant interruptions to deal with other teachers' or the school's disciplinary problems with Maori children.

One ex-inspector told the authors that while he was visiting a southern school on business he asked the principal's permission to visit the teacher of Maori, whom he knew personally. In the corridor outside her room he found 6 Maori girls. He thought they were late for class and invited them to come in with him. They were quick to refuse, saying they were not allowed to interrupt the teacher's class. As a result of further questioning he discovered that all 6 girls had been sent separately from various classes in the school because of misbehaviour. The Maori teacher was expected to deal with them when she finished her class.

One Maori male told us that he dealt with the problem of being expected to deal with other teachers' problems with Maori children by marching the first Pakeha child who put a foot out of line over to the door of the Pakeha teacher who was the most frequent sender of Maori children, claiming that he (the Maori teacher) did not understand Pakeha children and could the teacher please deal with the child. The traffic to his door slowed considerably after this incident.

Just as former teachers at intermediate schools reported being given difficult composite classes, many former secondary teachers also reported that their classes were often used as dumping grounds to rid other teachers of difficult Maori pupils. In particular, those classes established especially for slow learners frequently contained Maori children of at least average intelligence who were considered to be troublesome by other teachers or the administration. Teachers of Maori language also sometimes found their classes augmented by Maori pupils other teachers were having trouble with. (The Maori teachers sometimes volunteered to take such pupils because they could see the potential for serious trouble, and that unless they intervened another Maori child was going to "go to the wall" in that school.) Some former teachers believe there are far too many Maori children in transition classes or in the alternative education system.

Secondary teachers of Maori language face a further series of problems related to their subject. In some schools te reo is not regarded as a serious academic subject, but rather as an attempt to pacify resentful and unsuccessful Maori pupils. Because of this attitude the teacher of Maori may have to cope with inadequate facilities, insufficient resources, unsympathetic timetabling and questionable administrative support (we have already mentioned the refusal of some school administrations to spend the Maori language funding factor money on Maori language-related activities, services, or materials).

Structurally the teacher of Maori may be placed under the authority of the foreign languages department or the social studies department. Because the heads of these departments frequently have little or no knowledge of the structure of Polynesian languages or the teaching of Maori, the teacher receives little collegial help or support and is obliged to carry out virtually all the tasks of a head of department (syllabus, content, choosing and/or making resources, establishing standards, assessment, and evaluation) without any recognition in the form of pay or status.

In the past, teachers of te reo have had to deal with the disappointment of poor marks in School Certificate. For many years they were quite unaware that in recent years the marks from School Certificate have been scaled by a procedure called hierarchical means analysis in which the mark distributions were adjusted according to the success or otherwise of the candidates in all the other subjects they sat. When this system was introduced the pass rate in Maori was reduced. The average score for Maori was later altered to make it equivalent to the score for English: considerable damage was done to teachers' confidence and self-esteem, for no matter how hard they worked, nor how able their students, their pass rates were depressed by the statistical manipulation of the marks. The low marks frequently achieved by students of Maori also had the effect of deterring able Maori pupils from taking the subject above fourth form - either because they did not want to risk getting a low mark, or because they thought the low marks achieved by previous classes reflected poor teaching. Parents, too, sometimes advised their children not to sit School Certificate in a subject where they were unlikely to get a good mark. The low marks also did little to improve other teachers' expectations of Maori pupils. In total, this policy has had very damaging effects on Maori teachers and pupils who attempted the subject under such a restricted regime, and left a legacy of attitudes by others towards the subject and its adherents which still limits its acceptability in many schools. It seems ironic to many former teachers that French - a language which has decreased in popularity in schools, has never had any intimate connection to the history or culture of this country, and is a limited tool of international commerce in the 1990s - can still be regarded as an academic subject, whereas te reo Maori, which has been and still is spoken by thousands of New Zealanders, is core to understanding the concepts of the indigenous history and culture of New Zealand, and is a direct link into the languages and culture of our major Pacific markets, can be relegated to such a lowly position in the academic hierarchy of school subjects.

Timetabling which sets Maori up against essential academic subjects such as physics, history, or economics, or against attractive options such as physical education, music, or drama can make it very difficult for Maori to develop in a school. Several former teachers mentioned the frustrations they and Maori pupils in their schools experienced over unreasonable timetable clashes which worked against including te reo in subject combinations.

A number of former teachers spoke of the isolation and the loneliness of being the sole Maori on a school staff. This was especially so in large schools with a large Maori roll but with a climate of indifference or antipathy towards things Maori, and/or where the introduction of Maori language and culture seemed to be to enhance the curriculum vitae of the principal responsible and/or to "rescue" the rest of the school from the inconvenience of teaching Maori children. Conversely, a small number who had enjoyed teaching with several other Maori teachers spoke very positively of the pleasure of teaching in a mutually supportive collegial atmosphere where many of the problems identified above could be shared and dealt with in a collaborative way. One person also recounted how such an atmosphere in a girls' secondary school was destroyed in a few years by an unsympathetic principal; the Maori staffing fell from 7 to 0, as their mahi Maori was made impossible by timetabling clashes, class allocations, and outright sanctions against such programmes.

Bilingualism

The Aim

Most of the former teachers interviewed saw bilingualism as a very desirable skill for young Maori people to have and as a very desirable outcome of education. Some spoke of their parents and grandparents whom they regarded as truly bilingual with very high quality skills in both Maori and English, and able to operate with considerable competence in both cultures. For almost every person interviewed te reo Maori was regarded as essential for identity, for dignity, for acceptance, and as a vehicle for values and culture. Even those who had almost no fluency acknowledged the importance of te reo in the development of young Maori. A number had gone to considerable effort to learn to speak Maori in adulthood, and some had become sufficiently fluent to qualify as advisers in the language and its teaching.

The Process

Former teachers differed in their views of the process of achieving bilingualism. A few were opposed to total immersion classes, seeing them as cutting Maori children off from New Zealand society as a whole. These people preferred the bilingual class in an ordinary school where Maori and English were used for certain times each day. They believed that it is very important for Maori and Pakeha children to get to know each other in the classroom and in the playground. A larger group, frequently younger people (although not exclusively so), saw bilingualism as the goal but total immersion as the process by which bilingualism can be achieved. They argued that it is absolutely essential for Maori children to attain fluency in their own language at an early age (making use of language readiness in the preschool and early primary years). In order to develop Maori language to a high level and to establish it firmly they believe it is necessary to expose children to total immersion with completely fluent speakers or teachers. Some argue that Maori children will learn to speak English competently anyway because of its pervasiveness in our society, but they only have one real chance to become fluent speakers of Maori.

There is some disagreement about how long total immersion would be necessary for. Some would like to see all schooling - preschool, primary, and secondary - carried out in te reo while others believe that if te reo is firmly established by total immersion by say, the age of 10, then it will not matter how the rest of the child's education is undertaken.

Problems

The most serious problem hindering the development of bilingualism is the shortage of teacher-trained fluent speakers in the classrooms. A number of interviewees expressed grave concern about the level of language ability of some of the people teaching in bilingual classrooms. It appears that the Maori language component of some bilingual classes amounts to no more than classroom directions. There was some anxiety about the level of language ability of some of those in teaching roles at kohanga reo too. There were also some reservations about the quality of preschool development taking place at kohanga reo because of inadequate training, limited language skills, and the poor range and standard of equipment.

The development of bilingualism is also being hampered by many of the factors discussed in the section on "Induction to Teaching" (p. 58), and other issues, including:

- lack of training,
- unworkable class sizes,
- composite nature of classes (age, ability, and attitude of pupils),
- lack of resources,
- unsympathetic attitudes (board of trustees, principal, staff, parents of other pupils, community-at-large),
- uncertain policies,
- lack of career opportunities in the field,
- inadequate facilities,
- and the teacher's workload.

Motives for Establishing Te Reo, Total Immersion, and Bilingual Classes in Schools

Some Maori former teachers were very cynical about the motives of some of those involved in establishing Maori language in schools. They believe that while some principals encourage such programmes because they believe in the right of Maori people to learn their own language, the importance of language for identity and participation in the culture, and the urgent necessity to keep the language alive, others become involved for a variety of motives. Interviewees believe that the efforts made to learn about Maori values and culture, the willingness to listen and make changes, and the support given to Maori teachers and Maori pupils are likely to be good indicators of where a principal's motives lie. Some other motives suggested were:

- Bilingual classes, total immersion classes, and the teaching of Maori are fashionable trends in education today.

- The introduction of bilingual, total immersion, or Maori to a school looks good on a principal's curriculum vitae and will almost certainly enhance his or her career prospects.

- Having a Maori teacher in the school relieves the senior staff and administration of a lot of work (discipline, counselling, and contact with Maori families and Maori community, etc.).

- Difficulties with Maori pupils can be solved by assigning them to the Maori teacher's class.

- Difficulties with racist teachers can be solved by not needing to assign Maori pupils to their classes.

- Having a Maori teacher absolves the school from blame for Maori children's poor progress and results.

As discussed earlier, teachers of Maori also reported that their classes were sometimes used as dumping grounds for difficult or resentful Maori pupils (or pupils perceived as such following incidents with inept Pakeha teachers) and that the school's motives in offering Maori as a subject appeared to be related to control and discipline rather than a commitment to Maori language, culture, and values.

One former teacher of a bilingual class recounted a story which eventually led to her resignation. She had a very good bilingual class at a primary school. She felt that the children were making good progress and that they were growing in self-esteem, dignity, and confidence. She had been away for a week and returned to find her class very distressed because the principal had been to visit them while she was away - he had shouted at them and told them they were the worst class in the school. When she managed to calm them down sufficiently it appeared that the principal had come into the classroom because he was concerned that the classroom mat was fraying at the edges. The teacher had quite a long discussion with the children about the need to look after school property. As a result of the discussion the children decided that one way to make a better job of caring for and respecting school property was to do what they did at the marae - take their shoes off before coming into the classroom. The teacher was pleased with the outcome of the discussion and the children set about doing what they had decided. This action drew another burst from the principal who was angry to discover shoes in the corridor and confronted the teacher with "What are those shoes doing out there? The place looks like a Maori pah!"* The teacher decided that the principal did not really want a bilingual class and resigned very shortly afterwards. The position was not filled for 3 years because of the extremely demanding conditions of appointment.

---

* Pah is derived from a Maori word pā meaning a fortified site; in New Zealand English it became the word for a Maori settlement.

Some individual comments:

> The school I was teaching at only applied for bilingual status when it heard there was money attached; didn't support the programme, didn't like children speaking Maori in the playground and spoke severely to kohanga reo graduates who did so.
>
> The funding factor is influencing decisions; these decisions often do nothing to improve retention of te reo nor for the enhancement of Maori children.
>
> At the school I taught at only the top streams could do French, German or Indonesian. Maori was only for lower streams. I made the issue public and was told I was disloyal. I only managed to change the principal's attitude after I achieved 100 percent pass rate in School Certificate.
>
> I was asked to run Maori club at lunchtime. I believe it was organised to rid the playground of all the Maori children. There was just me and 60-odd children.

Other Sources of Stress

Some teachers who had been bilingual teachers in primary schools found themselves in situations which made it virtually impossible for them to succeed. This study recorded earlier the experience of 1 young male teacher who asked for a ceiling of 20 to be put on his first bilingual class, was told that would be "elitist", and was given 33 children ranging between 5 and 11 - every Maori child in the school. He found it virtually impossible to succeed, suffered enormous stress during the year, and resigned at the end of the year. The sheer enormity of the daily task of preparation for such a wide diversity of ages, abilities, and temperaments, and the constant knowledge that none of it could be done to any sort of high standard of achievement, simply ground him down. (We interviewed more than one former teacher who had had similar unreasonable bilingual teaching loads imposed on them in their earliest years of teaching.)

Teachers also recorded extra stress as a result of:

- being refused permission to use Maori language factor funding for buying resources or for hiring a fluent speaker to be in the classroom with them;
- unwillingness by the school's administration to make any allowances for the considerable time necessary to establish a bilingual class or unit;
- unwillingness by the school's administration to acknowledge or make any allowances for the ongoing time demands of a bilingual class - community involvement and consultation and the making of resources in particular;
- unwillingness by the school's administration to acknowledge that there may be other ways and styles of teaching which are appropriate for Maori children but which do not fit the European model;

- prejudiced and critical attitudes of staff colleagues;

- resentment from staff colleagues over matters of timetabling, allocation of resources, use of rooms, equipment etc.;

- the need constantly to justify the programme to staff, parents, and the community-at-large.

Resources

There are a number of serious issues which could loosely be called "Resources". One of the most serious is the matter of having a fluent speaker available in every bilingual classroom. Maori teachers who have only limited skills in te reo desperately need to have a fluent speaker available if the children's language skills are to develop to a stage where they can have access to the full richness of the Maori language. For some this seems to be an impossibility despite the Maori language factor funding which has been made available for just such purposes.

In some cases there is difficulty in identifying and employing a person with the skills required. In others the school will not allow the bilingual teacher and the Maori community to decide on the priorities for funding. Requests may be rejected or declined and the money allocated in some other way.

Resources in the form of textbooks, books, readers, charts, activities, and equipment are also a very important issue. Because of the recent growth in Maori language teaching at all levels there is a great dearth of resources. Former teachers told of making teaching resources themselves virtually daily in order to keep their classes working. This often required the teacher to work till midnight every school night, and required considerable skill in creative writing, devising exercises, transforming maths and science into appropriate lessons in Maori, and making games and practical activities. Good quality, freely available resources would make a tremendous difference to bilingual teachers.

Other resources such as adequate facilities, access to finances for essential aspects of courses, and helpful advisory services are also important if bilingual teaching is to succeed. Some recognition of the time demands of such teaching in the form of time out of class for making resources or community consultation would be highly valued. One itinerant resource teacher of Maori said that strictly speaking her role was supposed to be primarily involved with advising teachers, but she found that she could best support the teachers on her rounds by taking over their class for a time to allow them to prepare materials for subsequent periods.

For one teacher who had been battling for resources, struggling with her own lack of fluency in te reo, and meeting all of the extracurricular demands of her school, the last straw came when the principal rejected her application to attend an in-service course which would have enhanced her language skills and provided resource ideas and materials. Instead the principal sent the deputy principal, a man who had had no involvement in and had made no contribution to the bilingual programme, but who wanted to attend the course for his own edification.

Maori Children in Schools

Some of the former teachers were deeply saddened by what they saw as the plight of Maori children in New Zealand schools. They saw Maori children being placed in positions where they were constantly at odds with the system and unable to use their talents and abilities. Some interviewees had left the state system to take an active role in existing kura kaupapa Maori or to help establish new units as alternative education choices for Maori children.

One serious concern was the "deficit" theory, popular a few years ago, which sees Maori children arriving at school with limited experience and restricted language. This condition is supposed to have serious effects on the child's spoken language and ability to read. The teacher is supposed to make up the "deficit" before school learning can proceed. Maori teachers say that in many cases the real problem is not limited experience or restricted language but the inability of teachers to recognise, use, and extend the considerable experience the child brings with him or her. Because the teacher does not understand the significance of what the child brings to school, the child finds it difficult to use that experience in the classroom, is rarely asked to elaborate when attempting to contribute, and feels that his or her experience is somehow less acceptable and therefore less valuable than the experience of Pakeha children. Such treatment marginalises the child in the classroom, erodes confidence, inhibits participation, and encourages passive behaviour, none of which are likely to enhance the child's development or academic success.

The "deficit" theory is also closely allied to low teacher expectations of Maori pupils. Some former Maori teachers believe that Maori children do not stand a chance of succeeding because general expectations of Maori children are so low.

In particular, staffroom conversations about Maori children have caused much pain to Maori former teachers, both because of the obvious prejudice in some teachers' attitudes and because it seems impossible that children who are regarded with such contempt could ever succeed in the teachers' classes. Some Maori children have many things stacked against them - being different, being poor, not being well-clothed or well-fed, and not being as clean as some others (or perceived as such). Most of these matters become problems because of the middle-class experience and expectations of teachers. There is no doubt at all that they affect teacher expectations of Maori children which in turn affect pupils' performance and the standards expected of them.

Teacher skills also have a significant effect on the position of Maori pupils in schools. Teachers who have made the effort to discover and learn the basic principles and values of Maoritanga, who understand the protocol and relationships of Maori society, and who have some experience in observing and interpreting (accurately) the signals and body language of Maori youngsters are much more likely to be able to establish effective teacher-pupil relationships with Maori pupils than teachers who have none of these skills. Some of the disciplinary confrontations we heard of which occur between Maori pupils and school staff or administrations arise from cultural misunderstanding, cultural insensitivity, or misinterpretation of body language or behaviour. Pakeha staff sometimes attribute motives to Maori pupils which are a long way from the truth and which display considerable ignorance on the staff member's part. Such matters have the unfortunate likelihood of rapid escalation; the pupil becomes resentful and aggressive and suddenly is either suspended or expelled.

Disciplinary systems in schools seem to create special problems for Maori pupils at intermediate and secondary levels. We were told of numerous incidents which started as minor misdemeanours such as uniform discrepancies or lateness but which grew to major confrontations frequently resulting in suspension or expulsion. Some Maori pupils have reacted against what they consider to be demeaning or unwarranted treatment; occasionally staff have interpreted body language or behaviour as insulting or offensive. We were told of a number of schools in widely separated parts of New Zealand, where Maori pupils could be suspended after 3 warnings over uniform matters and we were surprised to hear of the length of suspension from some schools - up to a term in one case (not a uniform matter).

There seems no doubt that Maori pupils do not fare well in the disciplinary systems of a number of schools: they seem to be more likely to enter the system in the first place, matters seem to escalate very quickly for some, and suspension or expulsion appear to be fairly frequent outcomes. Some Maori former teachers feel that the system is loaded against the Maori pupil, and that they are in fact picked on at school. The Maori pupil's family is less likely to be successful in intervening than some Pakeha families who have a good knowledge of the system, acquaintance with board members, and standing in Pakeha society.

Mistakes or provocations made by Pakeha staff are rarely mentioned. One former teacher recounted the story of a young Maori male who became violent because an arrogant teacher who had baited him in the past accused him of being a thief simply because he came from a large, poor family and had some good writing implements in class. The young Maori was committed to Lake Alice. Nobody ever inquired whether the teacher involved had acted in a fair or professional manner.

Some staff responsible for discipline in schools appear to have inadequate skills for dealing with difficulties that arise, and in fact appear to contribute to augmenting the difficulties rather than resolving them. One might be tempted to suggest that there is a conscious policy of getting rid of some pupils. At the very least staff responsible for discipline should be obliged to demonstrate cultural understanding and cultural sensitivity before their appointment to the job.

Another sign that the education system is not meeting the needs of Maori children lies in the very poor academic outcomes achieved by Maori pupils. The intelligence of Maori children does not appear to be in question; motivation and willingness to commit themselves to the education system are at issue. Some former teachers believe that Maori children are unable to learn in a Pakeha system which devalues their identity and their contributions, has low expectations of their ability to achieve, teaches in ways which are in conflict with values and styles of learning they are used to, and belittles and demeans them in the name of discipline. In some schools they are still not able to learn their own language. The active resistance sometimes seen in intermediate and secondary schools is the only defence available to them against a Pakeha system which seems to be at odds with their own identity and culture. To take part in the Pakeha education system seems to some to be a betrayal.

Some individual comments:

> Maori children clung to us when we were on section.
>
> Many Maori children lack parental support. Some have never had a book read to them. It is a socioeconomic matter.

> Teachers should be able to pronounce children's names properly.
>
> One kohanga reo graduate was very confused when she was told that Dame Te Atarangi was "not a queen".
>
> Had to spend at least 10 minutes deprogramming children about other teachers and classes before we could start work.
>
> Some curriculum content is wrong and offensive. The children's ancestors are portrayed as rebels or criminals.
>
> Went to visit a school as part of my Ministry of Education job; asked for the principal; waited in foyer almost 30 minutes; instant response when I mentioned I was from the Ministry. I wondered how Maori parents got on when they visited the school.
>
> Who speaks for the child when you have a third former up against the teacher, the head of department, the dean, the senior teacher, the deputy principal, and the principal?
>
> Racism is rife at schools now: other teachers refused to take the children from the bilingual class at my daughter's school on the grounds that "they would wreck the room".
>
> "Tall Poppy" is a killer for Maori children - gets worse as they get older.
>
> The principal would regale me every day with how bad Maoris were.
>
> A Maori boy seen in a corridor (he was late for school) was accused of stealing. There was no evidence to support the accusation at all. He protested. Ended up with the deputy principal announcing "either the kid leaves or I leave".
>
> Some teachers believe that Maori pupils are dirty, they swear and they come from low-income families so they couldn't possibly cope with 2 languages.

Teaching as a Profession

Job Satisfaction

Most former teachers agreed that the real rewards in teaching come from seeing children making progress and developing into positive and confident human beings. These rewards form the basis for job satisfaction for most teachers and far outweigh extrinsic rewards such as pay and conditions.

For most general classroom teachers these rewards are attainable. For those who spend almost all of their time teaching children who have impaired ability to learn, these rewards come less often so that job satisfaction can be seriously reduced. At least 2 of the former teachers interviewed in this study who had spent several years teaching children with learning disabilities found the sheer hard slog of such teaching and the limited success achieved to be depressing. For both teachers, the nature of the classes they were responsible for was a factor in their decision to leave teaching.

Maori teachers have a peculiar problem with job satisfaction in that while they may be quite successful in their own classrooms they are obliged to witness constant Maori failure in the schools at which they teach. For some the sense of failure becomes overwhelming as does the sense of guilt at being part of the system which brings about the failure. A few have said that they have left teaching because they could no longer bear to witness the failure of Maori children. As mentioned earlier in this study, teachers of Maori language at secondary schools have also had to cope in the past with very poor School Certificate results, the outcome of an educational policy of which teachers generally were unaware. For some, each year's School Certificate results damaged their confidence, engendering anxiety and pessimism.

Former primary teachers have recorded their sadness at seeing bright Maori children they taught in the primers or the standards turning into sullen, reluctant learners as they move through the school system and eventually opting out of education (and sport) altogether. The teacher is likely to experience feelings of at least partial responsibility as well as hopelessness and futility.

Recognition for Effort and Excellence

The workload carried by many Maori teachers, as reported earlier, is demanding, time consuming, and far beyond what is expected of other teachers. The teachers sometimes feel exhausted and dejected. Recognition for the effort they are making and the outcomes they are achieving would invigorate them, buoy them up, and encourage them to persevere. Unfortunately, while some former teachers reported that principals acknowledged their efforts, attempted to remove as many obstacles and hazards as they could, and generally supported the work, the programme, the pupils, and the teacher, others recounted stories of principals who never gave any acknowledgment at all, were niggardly with both resources and praise, and could make no allowance for Maori values, Maori ways, and Maori needs. Sometimes such principals attempted to change their ways when it became obvious that the teacher had had enough and was intending to leave. Such efforts were usually described by the former teachers as "too little and too late".

Recognition of Maori as a subject in its own right is also an issue. The practice of placing Maori language in either the foreign languages department or the social studies department means that while the teacher of Maori is carrying out virtually all the roles of a head of department there is no recognition of the work and responsibility by way of status or pay.

Former teachers who had carried big responsibilities for discipline or for extracurricular activities such as sport, drama, and/or music sometimes resented the fact that while they were doing all the work another staff member was receiving both status and pay for holding the responsibilities. This situation also occurred in counselling roles in intermediate and secondary schools. Maori teachers are frequently sought out by Maori pupils and Maori parents for counselling. Teaching colleagues also consult them for help and advice over Maori issues. Such work is emotionally demanding and time consuming. The Maori teacher may spend a great deal of time in this role despite lack of training and facilities. At the same time the official counsellor is well paid to fill the role. The Maori teacher may even occasionally be picking up the pieces of a situation caused by insensitive or inadequate work by the official counsellor or the administration.

Relationships with the Principal

The importance of the role of the principal cannot be overestimated. For a considerable number of former teachers interviewed the behaviour, attitudes, and personality of the principal were the most important factors in the teacher's decision to leave teaching. In particular, where teachers found themselves in situations where the principal did not approve of, support, or value what the teacher was doing, there seemed to be little point in continuing at the school. This also applied where principals claimed to approve or support but in fact made life very difficult for the teacher, the programme, and the pupils. Discrepancies between the teacher's philosophy and beliefs about discipline and those of the principal were also likely to influence a decision to leave. Racist attitudes or behaviours were easily spotted by the Maori teachers and were reported as reasons for leaving.

Relationships with Colleagues

Some Maori former teachers reported a sense of isolation and loneliness while they were teaching. This was not necessarily a result of the unfriendliness or even indifference of colleagues; rather there was a sense of not belonging, not being in one's own milieu, and having no one who could really understand and share one's deepest feelings and concerns.

Quite a number of former teachers reported antagonism from some other staff members who saw Maori language as "a sop to keep whingeing Maori quiet" and who believed that there was no place for things Maori in the education system. Most former teachers reported that staff were generally supportive although many had no understanding of what the Maori teacher was trying to do, nor of the problems and difficulties involved. Pakeha women teachers were more likely to make an effort to understand and to support than men teachers. We were told of isolated incidents of deep-seated resentment on the part of staff because resources were allocated to bilingual or Maori programmes, or jealousy over attention given to new programmes. Some staff were also very impatient over the time taken to do things in a Maori way.

Maori former teachers found it difficult to form warm relationships with colleagues who expressed contempt or disdain for Maori children and Maori families.

Career Opportunities

There are some difficulties for ambitious Maori teachers who become involved in bilingual classes or the teaching of Maori. Because both of these teaching areas still appear to be somewhat outside mainstream education, it is often difficult for such teachers to obtain promotion from the positions they hold. In schools where the Maori teacher is the sole teacher of Maori and the subject belongs to a big department, there is very little opportunity for advancement at all. Some interviewees believed they had been unfairly denied positions they had applied for - sometimes when they were by far the best applicant. On some occasions they believed this had happened because principals or ministry officials thought they were more useful in the positions they held at the time of application; others believed they were considered to be outspoken or difficult. Earlier in this study reference was made to a female secondary teacher who left teaching because she was unable to secure a head of department position (in which she had been acting for some time) because of insufficient years spent in teaching. She was not teaching Maori.

We met a number of people who had held high positions - principal, deputy principal, inspector, reviewer, etc. - but there were certainly a number of former teachers who were disgruntled about what they regarded as unfair treatment in the promotion stakes. Some of those who had attained high positions recounted instances in their careers where they felt they had been unfairly "passed over", and had taken longer than their Pakeha peers to gain recognition and promotion. In fact for some, despite having attained senior positions, resentment still simmered and had contributed to their eventual decision to resign.

Ability to Influence Policy and Participate in Decision Making

A considerable number of the Maori former teachers interviewed thought they had virtually no ability to influence policy or to participate in decision making while they were teaching. Some who have made the shift from classroom or school administration to university, advisory, review office, or ministry positions made deliberate decisions with a view to being able to influence change, although there were elements of increase in pay, promotion, and escaping the burden of the school involved as well. Some of those who made the shift have already become cynical or have left education altogether because of frustration and a feeling of powerlessness; even in their new positions they sometimes found themselves unable to sway decision makers.

In the school situations some former Maori teachers felt that they were constantly at odds with a system which was frequently incompatible with what the Maori teachers were trying to do. The sheer effort required to maintain the programme despite inability to obtain facilities, resources, the desired timetabling, or school support was debilitating for some. This study has already reported situations where bilingual teachers were completely overridden by school administrations on matters of class size, the range of pupil ages, abilities, and temperaments, and the use of Maori language factor funding; there were also accounts of difficulty and criticism over using different ways of teaching, over Maori children speaking Maori in the playground, over Maori children becoming "too cocky" as a result of becoming fluent in their own language, and over excessive disciplinary action by school administrations. The school's attitude to and treatment of Maori parents has also been a source of difficulty for some Maori teachers.

Some Maori teachers have spent years trying to change attitudes of staff and the climate of schools so that Maori children could have a reasonable chance of success. Unfortunately most feel they have achieved little. In the course of their attempts and their involvement in trying to defend Maori children from the excesses of the school's disciplinary system, they have sometimes gained for themselves the reputation of activist or "stirrer" (or even "traitor") which has made it more difficult for them to have any influence. The positive steps Maori teachers make with Maori children in their classes are sometimes neutralised or destroyed by careless or insensitive handling by other staff or by the school administration. Some of our sample have left teaching because while they can see how sometimes quite minor changes to school systems would make an enormous difference to Maori children at the school, especially in such areas as being welcome, being valued, being accepted, and belonging, no one on the staff or administration is willing to listen. The Maori teacher is faced with the decision of whether to continue to be part of a system which demeans and fails Maori children and which cannot be changed. One interviewee said:

> They keep going on about how they want more Maori teachers. What for? They don't take the slightest bit of notice of them when they've got them!

Pay and Conditions

A number of former teachers who left 20-30 years ago did so largely because of the low salaries paid to teachers at the time. One man left to go sharemilking so that he could afford to send his daughters to Hukarere; he had been a very satisfied teacher. Another reported that a basic grade clerk in Maori Affairs was earning more than a secondary school teacher, a third that a beginning policeman was earning 50 percent more than a teacher who had been working for 3 years, and a fourth found he could earn considerably more working as a contract labourer in a timber yard than he could teaching. There was very little comment about salaries as a factor in the decision to leave from those who have left in recent years, although one female ex-secondary teacher who left because insufficient years of service made her ineligible for a position of responsibility found that she almost doubled her salary in 1990 when she took up the contract position she now holds.

Another very recent leaver pointed out that after 35 years of teaching (18 of those as senior teacher) for the position of deputy principal she was receiving only $35,000 per annum. Another who was in her ninth year as a primary teacher found that a first-year secondary teacher was being paid more.

As mentioned earlier, pay is a secondary factor in job satisfaction for most former teachers interviewed. A considerable number of them took a drop in pay to get out of the classroom when the burden became intolerable.

There were few complaints about normal teaching conditions for classroom teachers, although one man described at length the primitive rooms at the back of his school where he was expected to teach Maori.

Opportunities for Professional Development

This is one of the most serious concerns for Maori former teachers. Quite a number of them felt that while they were teaching they were caught up on a treadmill which drained their emotions and their resources without any opportunity to develop their skills, to put themselves back together, or to recharge their batteries. They were frequently expected to undertake tasks such as counselling and bilingual teaching for which they had had no training at all. Life seemed to be a constant battle to keep ahead and to stay afloat. Even when in-service training opportunities were available it was not always possible for the teacher to be released to attend.

Part of the problem is the difficulty of finding someone to relieve in Maori language or in bilingual classes; part is school policy. We have already mentioned the former teacher who was struggling with bilingual teaching and who told the authors that when an in-service training course was available in bilingual teaching, a course which she desperately needed and wanted to attend, the school decided that the deputy principal who was not involved in bilingual teaching should go. She stayed in her classroom teaching.

The former Maori teachers expressed a number of needs in the professional development area:

- A need to develop their own Maori language skills.

- A need for specific training in the teaching of Maori language. (Some secondary teachers attended teachers' college before there was any training at all in the teaching of Maori.)

- A need for specific training in bilingual teaching.

- A need for specific training for teaching in kura kaupapa Maori or total immersion classes.

- An opportunity to get together with other teachers for a reasonable length of time in order to share ideas and to make resources for the classroom.

- Opportunities to develop their own understanding of the richness of tikanga Maori.

- Opportunities to discuss syllabus content, the presentation of various aspects of the syllabus, assessment, and evaluation.

Effects of Teaching on Identity, Culture, Family, and Life Style

Some interviewees reported that there was a curious paradox about their status as Maori while they were teaching. On one hand they found themselves in the role of official "school Maori" who could produce powhiri, mihi, and whaikorero whenever required, look after all the Maori children in the school, act as community liaison person with the school's entire Maori catchment, and be resource person on all Maori matters for the staff of the school. On the other hand they found it very difficult to be Maori in any real sense of the word. School demands meant that they were required to operate in a very Pakeha way, Maori values were disregarded, there was no Maori dimension to the organisation or climate of the school, hui and tangi could only be attended in a very limited way, and Maori feelings or perspectives were misunderstood or ignored. For some, teaching was a time of considerable conflict between their own identity and culture and the demands of a Pakeha system. Being forced to stand by and watch injustice being done to Maori children only exacerbated the situation.

A few former teachers reported that their family life had suffered because of the stress and time demands of teaching. One woman said that her children would never consider teaching as a career because they had seen the hours she had kept as a bilingual teacher; another said that her relationship with her teenage son had improved out of sight since she had given up teaching and was able to devote time to the relationship. A wife present at an interview commented on the evening hours her husband had spent on school preparation, and a sense of freedom they have experienced since he has given up teaching. Free time to pursue their own interests has been another bonus for the former teachers, especially those who were very involved with school sport, culture groups, drama, and music. Several also commented on the freedom they enjoy in their current occupations where they are not constrained daily by the demands of the classroom and preparation for it and the myriad other duties of being a Maori teacher in a somewhat unappreciative or even antagonistic school system.

Stress

One of the most damaging factors for job satisfaction seems to be stress. We believe that many of the former teachers we interviewed were passionate and successful teachers. They appear to have given absolutely everything they had to the job and to the children they were involved with. Unfortunately the demands made on them were such that they could not continue to work at the level necessary to cope and survive for extended periods of time. Eventually they became sick (ulcers, breakdown, general malaise), or felt that they couldn't face another year, or decided that the cost to family and enjoyment of life was too great. One or two decided that they were not able to meet the needs of all those depending on them. Some were exhausted from years of doing battle on Maori matters or did not wish to be part of a system which damages Maori children any longer. Some displayed classic symptoms of the condition known as "burnout".

We heard of a number of teachers who left in a blaze of glory, or on the verge of a breakdown (sometimes both). Several interviewees spoke of the number of Maori (usually male) teachers who had died suddenly well before retirement and of a number of Maori women teachers who had retired early because of illness. In each case the interviewees believed the illnesses could be attributed to job-related stress.

Despite their disappointments and withdrawal from state sector schooling, not all have given up direct involvement in children's education, including teaching. As a result of their experiences in the state ("Pakeha") system, several have come to believe that alternative approaches to educating Maori children are the only answer, and are devoting their energies to establishing, helping to operate, or supporting kura kaupapa Maori initiatives. For some the hours are as long and the workload no less but the sense of achievement and the mutual support of like-minded colleagues and committed parents makes the stress manageable.

It appears that job satisfaction persists only when the level of stress involved in the job is tolerable and manageable.

Other Jobs

There was some disgruntlement, especially among former primary and intermediate teachers, about the variety of "other" jobs teachers are required to do as well as teaching their classes. These included menial tasks such as housekeeping/cleaning tasks, collecting statistics (of children, chairs, desks for bureaucracy), supervision of children out of class time, and above all the mass of paperwork expected from teachers. Some of the former teachers accepted all these tasks as being part of the job and were happy to carry them out.

The issue which raised most unhappiness was the work plan. The researchers were surprised by the detail expected and demanded by some principals and some inspectors. Some of the former teachers had found it very difficult to produce acceptable work plans in their early years of teaching. At least one first-year teacher had all his work plans prepared by the principal, while a supervisor of junior classes prepared most of another first-year teacher's work plans. Some former teachers believe that far too much weight was placed on the work plan by both principals and inspectors, and that tidiness and presentation (in their work-plan books) were frequently regarded as more important issues than content or execution. They were inclined to believe that the actual teaching and learning which take place in a classroom are far more important than a written plan. They acknowledge the need for goals, objectives, assessment, and evaluation, but do not believe there is any reason for teachers to write down in advance every tiny step in the teaching process and virtually every word they will say. Some cynically suggest that producing meticulous work plans may be the most important factor in grading.

The authors are not clear whether the requirements for work plans are still as demanding as some former teachers describe.

School Organisation and Environment

The Role of the Principal

There seems no doubt that the role of the principal is crucial in determining the school's priorities, how it operates, and how it is regarded. The former teachers interviewed in this study say that the principal is the most significant single factor in:

- the climate of the school, especially in influencing staff attitudes such as openness, tolerance, acceptance of difference, and willingness to try new ideas;
- the allocation of resources;
- the standards and discipline of the school;
- recognition and support for teachers' efforts and successes; and
- staff development.

The former teachers expected principals to at least attempt to learn about Maori culture and values, to be fair in the allocation of resources (including timetabling), to recognise the extra work and responsibilities some teachers carry, to give credit to those who actually do the work, to make sure every pupil has the opportunity to grow and to learn within the school, to support teachers when they need to be supported, and to make sure that all teachers have opportunities for professional development.

As mentioned earlier, difficulties with principals, particularly when the principal seemed to be working in direct conflict with what the Maori teacher was trying to do and sometimes in direct conflict with the expressed aims of the school (often the principal's own expressed aims), were significant factors in teachers' decisions to leave the classroom. Problems were also caused when a new principal whose philosophy and beliefs were very different from those of the Maori teacher, and sometimes from those of the previous principal, took over the school.

Some individual comments:

> The principal used personal, institutional, and cultural racism. Some Pakeha women suffered from administrations in much the same way.

> The principal did not want Maori [language] in the school (which had a 40-50 percent Maori roll). He believed that Europeans had conquered the Maoris and that they should be wiped out.
>
> I had trouble with the principal in my first school. He was very anti-Maori and he tried to control the lives of the younger teachers.
>
> I was the principal's hero until I went into things Maori. He said "What do you want to do that for?"
>
> The attitude of the principal is the key: the principal sets the tone, the philosophy and the attitudes of the school; the principal's attitude filters down to the staff; the principal needs to buck staff who are racist....

Staff Attitudes

Staff attitudes are also important in determining whether a school is a comfortable place for Maori teachers to teach and for Maori pupils to learn. Understanding of Maori culture, Maori values, Maori issues, social behaviour within Maori society, and the roles and expectations of Maori children and young people are all very important matters for teachers if they are to understand the children they teach. Teacher expectations of Maori children in the classroom are likely to affect the children's performance. It seems that teacher expectations of Maori children are often low.

If the attitudes of staff are prejudiced or ignorant, the staffroom can become a difficult place for the Maori teacher, rather than the place of companionship and relaxation it should be.

Some individual comments:

> There are some teachers who will only make an effort for white, nice-smelling children from a clean background. They are really displaying their professional incompetence.
>
> Other teachers sometimes work to undermine bilingual classes and schools: "Not on the Yellow Books yet?"
>
> In one school where an untrained Maori tutor was appointed to assist the teacher, to counsel students, and to attend tangi, hui, etc. on the school's behalf in an effort to relieve the teacher of some of his burden, some of the other teachers were very jealous and showed a complete lack of understanding of what was being attempted.
>
> At the school I was at where there were lots of Polynesian and Maori children there was very obvious staffroom racism; there was no ESL [English as a second language] in the school although it was badly needed; there was no effort to pronounce names correctly; very few of the Polynesian or Maori families came to the school but the teachers made sure of that; teachers complained "they smell"; the same children were always being told off and picked on; expectations were low; family histories were used against the children.

Incompatibility Between Teacher and School
Several of the former teachers had been influenced to leave by what they saw as incompatibility between their own style, standards, and discipline and those of the school administration. Usually this meant that the school was perceived by the Maori teachers as becoming lax and accepting lower standards. However, in one or two cases the teachers could not fit in with extremely authoritarian systems which sometimes relied heavily on corporal punishment. Some were very critical of arbitrary punishments meted out to Maori students for extremely minor misdemeanours.

Boards of Trustees

Some concerns were expressed in the course of this study about the role and influence of boards of trustees. While it was generally acknowledged that local management of the community's schools was a good thing, there were fears that Maori children might be even more disadvantaged by decisions made by boards of trustees. This situation could arise because of prejudiced attitudes in the local community, and could seriously affect the rights and needs of minority groups especially in areas of school priorities, the appointment of the principal, and the allocation of resources. This fear was aggravated by the announcement of the new government that provisions in school charters concerning recognition of the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi and equity would no longer be compulsory. There were also fears expressed about the board of trustees' role in relation to what might be considered to be professional, educational matters.

In an incident which occurred just before our visit to one area, the police had been asked to attend the primary school's board of trustees meeting (by the chairman, a Maori male) because a Maori group in the community had sought permission to present a proposal for total immersion teaching at the school (which is in an area of high Maori population) and the chairman thought there might be trouble. One of the people who had been involved in putting the proposal together (a former teacher and participant in this study) was shocked by the chairman's request for a police presence, which in fact inflamed already tense relations between factions over the issue.

There appear to be difficulties for Maori community representatives on boards of trustees in some areas, especially where the Maori representative is the only Maori person on the board (and is possibly an appointed member, rather than elected by parents). Contributions can be misinterpreted or misunderstood, concerns expressed are frequently not really discussed or are overlooked entirely, and the Maori board member may be lumbered with the entire organisation of anything with the faintest Maori flavour to do with the school. The most serious issue is that important, valid concerns are sometimes disregarded either through ignorance of Maori cultural matters and Maori aspirations on the part of board members, or through unwillingness to listen or to change. Some Maori representatives who feel a heavy obligation to try to make the schools they are responsible for welcoming and safe for Maori children are becoming frustrated and disillusioned. Some onlookers believe that Maori members on boards of trustees are not assertive enough.

The matter of the Maori language factor funding has been mentioned earlier in this report. There seems no doubt that some schools are using this funding, or a significant part of it, for purposes quite different from those intended. We heard of schools which used the funds for the purchase of computers (on the grounds that Maori children could use them for language programmes) and for remedial reading (in English). One secondary school whose Maori roll qualified it for many thousands of dollars in Maori language factor funding had given the teacher in charge of bilingual classes $1,500 for the year's expenses and the teacher of te reo $1,400. It would be interesting to know what happened to the remaining $24,000 - $25,000. It is not clear whether the boards of trustees were aware of these decisions, or whether they simply accepted what the principal told them.

One interviewee reported the case of a board which was very unhappy with the presence of Maori people working as volunteers in a primary school.

Loss of Teachers Through Inability To Obtain Position

A number of keen, committed teachers drifted out of teaching into other work areas through being unable to obtain a teaching position. Some relieved for quite considerable periods before giving up the search. A few found themselves in the position of not being able to secure a permanent job because of family commitments such as sick or elderly parents or a spouse's job. It seems unfortunate that these teachers have been lost to the profession. Some are fluent speakers of te reo as well as being trained teachers.

The Future

There was not a great deal of confidence among former teachers interviewed that the future for Maori children in ordinary state schools will be any brighter. Some have worked exceedingly hard over many years to try to improve the lot of Maori children in our schools but they do not feel that they have achieved a great deal. In practical terms, especially if they have young children or grandchildren themselves, they are putting their expertise and their energies into new or existing kura kaupapa Maori. While some older former teachers are anxious that the growth of kura kaupapa Maori may result in separate education for Maori and Pakeha, which they see as damaging for race relations in New Zealand, most of those interviewed see kura kaupapa Maori as the only hope for their children and grandchildren to grow up as fluent speakers of both Maori and English, to preserve their confidence and their identity, and to escape the debilitating effects of being second-class pupils from whom little is expected in terms of effort or achievement.

The former teachers do not believe that Maori pupils should have to give up their Maoriness in order to receive a good education. They point to the long history of failure of Maori pupils in the education system and argue that it is time to try another way. They are concerned that the great majority of Maori pupils will continue to attend ordinary state schools. They fear that the position of Maori pupils will become even more desperate as economic circumstances prevent Maori children from taking part in many school activities such as sport, music, and drama, and parents will be even less able to provide the uniforms which seem to be of such importance to school administrations and a source of many disciplinary disputes.

There is also concern that Maori children may be the victims of some of the trends apparent in New Zealand education such as more authoritarian management and discipline, and greater emphasis on competition, as schools vie with each other for pupils, especially in cities.

Some say only structural change and a much greater understanding of Maori values will create schools which will make it possible for Maori children to develop their talents to the full and to succeed on an equal footing with all members of our society.

Maori Schools

The authors encountered a considerable amount of comment about Maori secondary boarding schools in the course of this study. Quite a proportion of the interviewees had themselves attended Maori boarding schools, some had had children at them, and a few had taught at them. The topic was of interest to the former teachers because the Maori boarding schools are seen as a training ground for Maori leaders, and as a place where one's Maoriness and achievement in the Pakeha world can go hand-in-hand.

Some interviewees expressed concern that:

- The Maoriness of some schools is very superficial, sometimes consisting of little more than a culture group which can perform haka, waiata, and poi to a satisfactory level.
- The staffing of the schools is often not very Maori.
- The appointment of the principal sometimes appears to have more to do with tribal politics than with education.
- Academic standards are not good, and the expectations of pupils do not appear to be very high.
- The climate of schools sometimes owes more to the missionary influence and the traditional English public school than it does to Maori values or culture.
- Rugby appears to be the ultimate value in some boys' schools.

This list must be qualified by recording that there were some very satisfied customers, particularly of girls' schools. However, sufficient adverse comment was encountered to suggest that all may not be well with the Maori boarding schools.

Miscellaneous Issues

Interviewees commented on a wide range of other issues. Some comments related to schools, teaching, classrooms, and education in general, while others were directed at similar situations they had found in other careers or in community activities.

Resource teachers: We have reported earlier some of the experiences of interviewees who had had stints as resource teachers of Maori (previously called itinerant teachers of Maori). Resource teachers are also under great stress; their geographical areas and the number of schools are too large; they cannot fill the roles required of them satisfactorily; they lack support mechanisms; they are poorly resourced; they end up taking classes in order to give stressed classroom teachers a rest, or to provide opportunities for them to prepare resources; they encounter opposition from staff and from boards of trustees in some of the schools they visit.

Iwi obligations: Teachers often encounter considerable pressure from iwi too, especially if they are teaching in their own tribal area. They may be expected to attend every hui and even to take office-holders' roles at the local marae, on the land trust board(s), on runanga/runanganui committee(s), etc. Demands on educated Maori are constant, and in recent years those demands have increased prodigiously as a result of more enlightened government policies which recognise Maori concerns, needs, and rights.

Other government agencies: "Excessive demands on Maori staff are apparent in other fields too, e.g., Police, Social Welfare, and Justice in particular and in other government departments and local authorities".

Cultural conflicts: "The education system is in conflict with Maori systems which are traditional in some areas - e.g., at schools older children have no authority over younger children".

Becoming institutionalised: "It is hard for Maori staff to avoid becoming institutionalised - in Education, in the Police, in Social Welfare, and in Health".

Promotion in the church: "Most Maori ministers never become vicars; they are either assigned to Maori pastorates or remain curates".

Parental support: "It would be good if kohanga reo parents continued to follow their children through school to learn with them".

School needs: "There needs to be a core group of Maori teachers in a school; there needs to be real support from the top; and there needs to be a Maori guidance counsellor".

Student teachers: "I found having teachers' college students in my room every day very trying; they knew all the buzz words and killed my spontaneity".

Inflexibility - special classes: "I found that the insistence on following the school curriculum with a special class was not appropriate".

Inflexibility - innovation: "I used to run PE to music (now called aerobics) in the 1960s. It was tremendously successful - even the tough kids took to it. I was ordered to stop by an inspector because PE to music was not in the curriculum".

Creativity: "There is not much scope for creative teaching or learning in the system".

Segregated schooling: "Some schools in Auckland are either predominantly white, or predominantly Maori or Pacific Island. Some teachers probably only rarely encounter a Maori or Polynesian child".

Identification: "I was told 'There are no Maori families at our kindy' yet a Maori mother and her child were right there in the room".

Racism at polytech: "I encountered a great deal of institutional racism at the polytech I worked in. Maori was underfunded and doomed to fail. Other trainees told Maori students 'Maori won't get you a job'. I was accused of being racist in staff-training sessions in Maori culture. The Treaty of Waitangi was considered to be a Maori thing and there was no concept of partnership".

Teacher shortages: "The demand for Maori teachers exists now. It far exceeds the ability of the system to provide".

Tribalism versus *competence*: "At a local school a fluent manuhiri was replaced by a tangata whenua who was not fluent: chaos!"

School initiatives: "Our school appointed a PEP worker to accompany children to Court, to work with families and to put them in touch with community support".

Criticisms of the Education Review Office: "ERO is weak: there is a lack of proper monitoring and proper advice, and professionalism is affected. There is no independent vetting of the principal's evaluation of teachers".

Dilemmas for Maori teachers: "Maori teachers have a problem with integrity. They must ask themselves whose interests they are addressing. Many Maori teachers do not know how to handle the Pakeha system and they are not strong in their own value system".

Historical influences: "Places with a violent colonial history are most resistant to change".

Teaching of history: "Schools should teach the **real** history of this country".

Motives?: "The system wants more Maori people. What for? If it is only to hold the show together, why bother?"

Staleness in teaching: "Many Maori male teachers, often te reo speakers, stay too long at a school and become lazy and entrenched".

Mana: "Maori skills and knowledge are not considered to be valid. There is very little trust of Maori opinion. ('Maoris can give advice but we make the decision' - Maoris sometimes believe that too). Maori people are often scared of making mistakes".

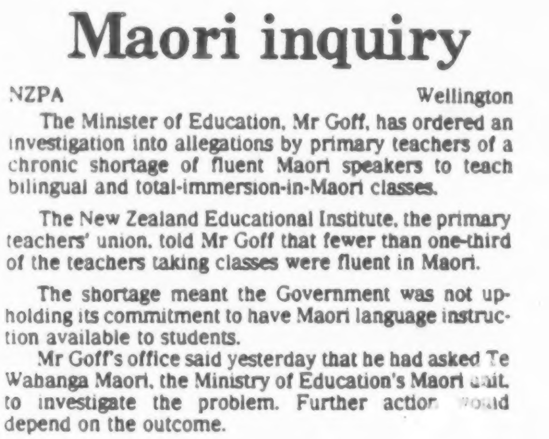
Maori ambition: "In the big processing plant where I worked 50 percent of the staff were Maori; the Maoris were much more intelligent than the Pakehas and required much less training. Most lacked ambition; there were opportunities for advancement and promotion but few Maori men would take them. Many do well when they get right away to Australia, Wellington, etc.".

Clippings from Newspapers and Newsletters

Over the period of this study several of the issues and concerns raised by interviewees were expressed publicly by various commentators. A selection of newspaper clippings follow; these were not gathered via a systematic survey of newspapers New Zealand-wide, but were obtained by the authors in the course of casual reading.

Figure 2: A Selection of Newspaper and Other Clippings

New Zealand Herald - 29 July 1990



Maori inquiry

NZPA Wellington

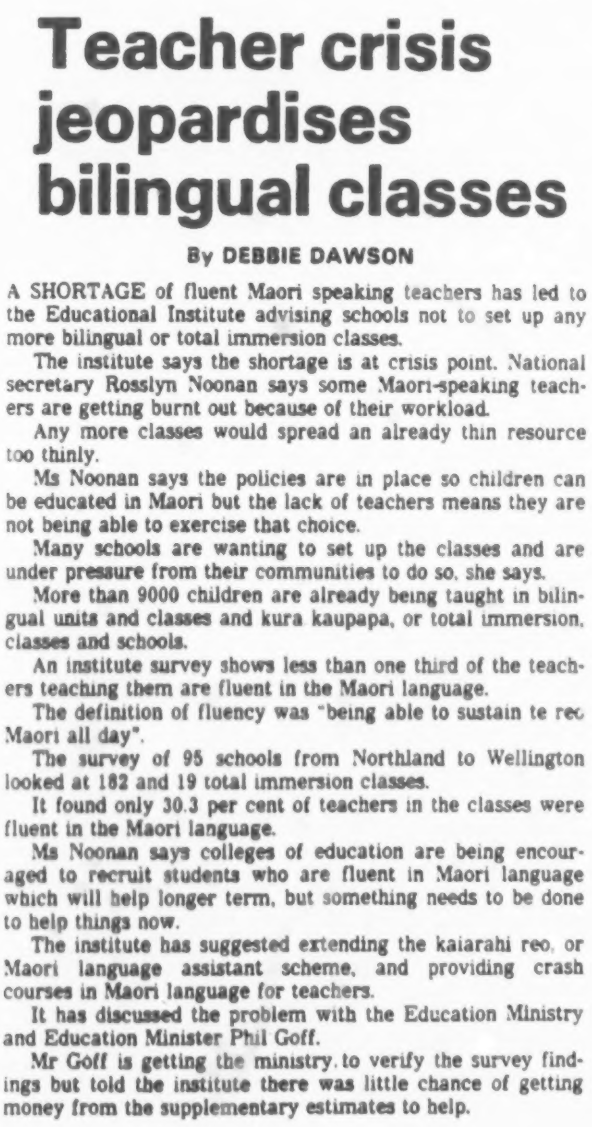
The Minister of Education, Mr Goff, has ordered an investigation into allegations by primary teachers of a chronic shortage of fluent Maori speakers to teach bilingual and total-immersion-in-Maori classes.

The New Zealand Educational Institute, the primary teachers' union, told Mr Goff that fewer than one-third of the teachers taking classes were fluent in Maori.

The shortage meant the Government was not upholding its commitment to have Maori language instruction available to students.

Mr Goff's office said yesterday that he had asked Te Wahanga Maori, the Ministry of Education's Maori unit, to investigate the problem. Further action would depend on the outcome.

Dominion Sunday Times - 30 September 1990



Teacher crisis jeopardises bilingual classes

By **DEBBIE DAWSON**

A SHORTAGE of fluent Maori speaking teachers has led to the Educational Institute advising schools not to set up any more bilingual or total immersion classes.

The institute says the shortage is at crisis point. National secretary Rosslyn Noonan says some Maori-speaking teachers are getting burnt out because of their workload.

Any more classes would spread an already thin resource too thinly.

Ms Noonan says the policies are in place so children can be educated in Maori but the lack of teachers means they are not being able to exercise that choice.

Many schools are wanting to set up the classes and are under pressure from their communities to do so, she says.

More than 9000 children are already being taught in bilingual units and classes and kura kaupapa, or total immersion, classes and schools.

An institute survey shows less than one third of the teachers teaching them are fluent in the Maori language.

The definition of fluency was "being able to sustain te reo Maori all day".

The survey of 95 schools from Northland to Wellington looked at 182 and 19 total immersion classes.

It found only 30.3 per cent of teachers in the classes were fluent in the Maori language.

Ms Noonan says colleges of education are being encouraged to recruit students who are fluent in Maori language which will help longer term, but something needs to be done to help things now.

The institute has suggested extending the kaiarahi reo, or Maori language assistant scheme, and providing crash courses in Maori language for teachers.

It has discussed the problem with the Education Ministry and Education Minister Phil Goff.

Mr Goff is getting the ministry to verify the survey findings but told the institute there was little chance of getting money from the supplementary estimates to help.

The Press - 7 September 1990

Racism 'at root of Maori condition'

By OLIVER RIDDELL

Racism has been at the very root of the condition of the Maori people today, according to the former race relations conciliator, Mr Wally Hirsch.

He was commissioned by the Ministry of Education to prepare a report on Issues and Factors Relating to Maori Achievement in the Education System.

His report contains 47 recommendations which form a sweeping condemnation of how the old Department of Education handled Maori education issues.

Mr Hirsch defined "racism" as "prejudice plus power", and although work was being done by State institutions, including those dealing with education, to overcome it there was some way to go.

That was not surprising as practices and policies which had existed for more than a century could not be dismantled quickly or easily, he said. Underlying his exploration of education was a concern for past discrimination and racism, although few spoke about it in direct terms.

Many had touched upon it and the need for school administrators and teachers to be aware of racism at all levels.

"This is often not a popular topic, but I hope there may be more open examination of the subject by people at all levels of education, and more action in dealing with it," Mr Hirsch said.

He recommended a series of measures to increase Maori empowerment, achievement and curriculum in education. He also studied bilingualism, bicultural education and the revitalisation of the Maori language.

"There is no doubt many people believe the key route to enhancing Maori achievement is through, and with, the Maori language, and research supports these claims. But sustaining this development in terms of commitment, acceptability and resources is far from being achieved," he said.

Few of the issues in Maori education achievement elicited more reaction than the concept that the system had taught some children to fail. There could be little doubt that failure had been built into the education system, said Mr Hirsch.

"People are calling for a comprehensive intervention in this cycle of failing at all levels, and there have been interventions before," he said. "Perhaps there is much more that we can learn."

His report found no simple or immediate solutions to the issue. A strategy for action that included quality teachers and good schools was needed.

The Dominion - 23 January 1991

High school focus of race complaint

THE Race Relations Office and Human Rights Commission are to meet in Auckland next week to discuss a complaint about Waitara High School.

The office's legal adviser, Janet Agarr, said yesterday the complaint centred on problems relating to the provision of Maori language and culture classes at the north Taranaki school, as well as the number of suspensions and expulsions last year.

The relationship between the Maori community and the school's board of trustees and management was a key issue. — NZPA

Waikato Times -
24 November 1990

Working towards a dream of a fully bilingual society

FOREST LAKE School's principal Mihi Roberts has a dream — to see the whole of New Zealand bilingual in both Maori and English.

She knows this is a long-sighted aim but is determined to make her mark in achieving this goal.

For many years she has observed the positive development of children learning in a bilingual situation and thinks it is a great educational opportunity for all children.

Five years ago the city's first bilingual units were set up at Forest Lake School. The school at this time had a predominately pakeha roll, only 15 per cent were Maori children.

She says the units cater for 80 children. Bilingual education is available to students of all ages, from new entrants to standard four.

The philosophy behind the decision to set up a bilingual unit at the school was to create an atomosphere of total well-being in students, she says.

"If students are socially, physically, emotionally, spiritually and culturally healthy, they will achieve intellectual well-being. This applies specifically to Maori children who until recently have been expected to survive without their culture."

She wants to emphasise bilingual units are not "separatist" institutions.

"They are all about making two languages work side by side," she says.

About one third of the students in Forest Lake's bilingual units are pakeha.

"Long before Tomorrow's School some pakeha parents placed their trust in the bilingual programme. Their decision took some courage because of the attitudes of some who feel threatened by Maori initiatives."

Mihi Roberts is proud of the students who have moved on to intermediate or high school and are doing well.

"They have not suffered from the hours expended in prime time on Maori language," she says.

She says the needs of pakeha and Maori children are different in a unit but both work to achieve the same objectives.

Pakeha children generally have a positive self-image. "They mainly require cultural and intellectual development."

Predictions for next century show that information occupations will make up about 65 per cent of the country's jobs and Maori and polynesian populations will double.

"Our pakeha children will be adults in a far different society than their parents. Bilingual education will prepare them more effectively for a wider range of jobs because they will be able to speak Maori and deal with minority issues with tolerance and sensitivity."

She says unlike pakeha children most of the Maori children who enter the units are traumatised and withdrawn.

"The spiritual, emotional and physical well-being of the children is top priority. It is a very exhilarating experience for teachers when the children break through. Our aims for Maori children are to empower them to be proud of their culture, to speak their language, to like themselves and thus achieve their potential intellectually."

Mihi Roberts believes some of the children with these problems would have big behavioural problems in a normal class.

"A child can't progress intelligently if their insides are scarred."

She says the unit's atomosphere helps the child work through the layers of self-hate and then they learn to achieve.

The whanau concept is used in school's units, so there is regular cross-grouping between new entrants to standard four depending on the topic being studied.

Fluent Maori is spoken between 9am and 10.30am. After this time Maori is spoken as much as possible.

But lack of resources has meant teachers can't teach the children all the curriculum subjects in Maori. Translations between Maori and English have proven difficult at times for teachers.

She says the Maori language has been restricted in the past and therefore has not kept up with the flow of other languages, especially in the area of technology.

"But no language should be expected to cover every culture," she said. "A lot of Maori words have no English translations because they have come from Maori tradition."

Mihi Roberts says Maori teaching resources are in short supply. "There are many beautiful English-based resources supplied to schools but they should also supply Maori-based resources."

Most of the resources in the bilingual units have been hand-made by the staff.

She refuses to let the bilingual unit children use photocopied Maori resources. "Seeing photocopied resources gives the children a poor vision of what studying in Maori means." The children may perceive Maori to be inferior to English.

Lack of teaching staff for bilingual units is another concern. "If urgent measures aren't taken soon to help the staffing problem the Maori language could die again. But the people working in bilingual education are very dedicated and are working themselves almost to a standstill trying to promote it."

The majority of parents at Forest Lake School are caring and supportive of the units, she says.

Waikato Times - 24 November 1990

Nurturing the Maori tongue

HAMILTON Teachers' College bilingual courses have a common aim — to keep the Maori language alive in New Zealand's schools.

The college is playing a leading role in training bilingual teachers for New Zealand schools, with courses for both certificated and uncertificated teachers.

The need for bilingual teachers has grown in New Zealand over the last decade and Hamilton Teachers' College is doing its best to met this demand.

Next year the college will offer a Certificate in Bilingual Education for the first time.

This course is held off-campus and is available for people who have an understanding of Maori language and wish to gain more skills in the area of bilingual education.

Associate principal Alan Hall says the certificate is a good qualification for people who are already working as language assistants and are not certificated teachers.

He says the certificate has many benefits because it will be recognised as a high standard qualification and make language assistants more employable.

"There is a lot of second language teaching going on in schools in an informal way and our feeling is that the kind of experience offered by the college would be valuable to a lot of people in the community," he says.

The college offers three on-campus bilingual education teacher training courses.

Te Whanau Reo Rua is a normal primary teacher training course, which involves Maori language programmes throughout the course.

Students take intensive Maori language courses for liberal studies and in their final year take specialist subjects on teaching Maori as a second language and teaching curriculum through Maori.

Rumaki, another programme, operates along the lines of Te Whanau Reo Rua but has a more intensive Maori language component and students learn their first year courses in Maori.

Alan Hall says the students from these groups are "greatly advantaged" when they graduate at the end of their training because they are qualified to teach both in Maori or English.

A third course offered by the college is Te Roopu Reo Rua. This course is for registered teachers who have completed extensive Maori language components and want to have training for leadership positions in bilingual schools.

It is a one year course and students receive either a higher diploma of teaching or an advanced diploma of teaching at its completion.

Alan Hall says there is a big emphasis on bilingual education at the college because its catchment area has the largest Maori population in New Zealand.

Resources, including both teaching material and staff, are one aspect of bilingual education which needs to be improved, he says. But bilingual teaching materials are starting to accumulate.

Dominion Sunday Times - 30 September 1990

EDUCATION TIMES

Maori still struggling to find a voice in education

COMMENT

By JIM PERRY
Principal Rongomai School, Auckland

MAORI education is at a crisis point. It has been there for some time, and there have been many earlier crisis points, but the only ones who have really noticed are the Maori people.

There was a crisis point in 1868, when the Education Department created and took control of Maori schools.

Another crisis point was the 1907 Tohunga Suppression Act which in the eyes of the Pakeha, was needed to get rid of evil and degradation.

Yet — the tohunga were our teachers.

In 1968 control of the Maori schools was relinquished by the department to the education boards.

We were at another crisis point.

From the time of the changeover, there has been a marked and noticeable decline in the success rate of Maori children through the schooling system.

Much has been written about the failure, many interpretations and reasons put forward, but none has been able to hide the reality: that the curriculum, presentation techniques and methodologies in New Zealand primary schools lack relevance for Maori children.

In 1978 the first bilingual school was opened in the small eastern Bay of Plenty township of Ruatoki.

Almost immediately we were at another crisis point.

No one realised that in the 12 years following 1978 there would be so many official bilingual schools, even more units and classes, over 600 kohanga reo, and 12 kura kaupapa Maori established, the majority aiming at total immersion.

The suppressive practices of the education system had robbed the Maori people of native speakers of the language in sufficiently large numbers to accommodate the demand.

The 1989 Education Act and the new school charters insist on schools supplying to those parents who want it for their children the delivery of education through and in Maori language.

But! Where are the teachers capable of meeting such demand?

We are at another crisis point.

Maori people have long recognised that to get anything done, we have to do it ourselves.

That's how the kohanga reo and kura kaupapa Maori came about. Maori initiatives, limited funds, people working for no money, and heaps of aroha.

Our Maori primary school teachers have tried very hard but many of us are becoming tired — burnt out. And there is hardly anyone to replace us.

Our schools, the staffs and the pupils have become the victims of an uncaring system and the victims are being blamed for the failure.

Parents are blaming the schools for not filling the vacant teaching positions in bilingual and total immersion classes. Schools are pirating staff from other schools. Relationships between parents, teachers, the Educational Institute and people from the wider community are being affected.

The Government will be able to say, "We gave you autonomy and you couldn't handle it. Now we wash our hands of any responsibility."

So the Maori people have responded in ways that have not found too much understanding or support, and indeed have attracted very adverse publicity.

We are not seeking to be separate — just to arrive at the same place via a slightly different, culturally appropriate and relevant way.

What the Maori people are saying is:

— we have spoken — you haven't listened;

— If you won't respond positively, then let us go ahead and do it ourselves, but help us along the way.

If people can set their personal and cultural prejudices aside for long enough to see that all the Maori people want is equity, justice, educational excellence and achievement, and the opportunity to fit comfortably into New Zealand society, as is their right, then our push for progress in Maori education in the way we have done will be justified.

We want to be able to strengthen our whole society through strengthening our people first, educationally.

Rapua te huarahi whanui
Seek the broader highway
hei ara whakapiri
that will unite the two
i runga i te whakaaro kotahi
people toward a common goal

Iwi Express - November 1990

Maori Principals Exchange Views

Principals from Maori secondary schools gathered at Te TAI's head office recently to exchange ideas and discuss mutual problems.

The meeting was called by Te TAI's General Manager, Wira Gardiner, and was the first time the principals had gathered together in five years.

During the meeting, Mr Gardiner outlined the direction of Iwi development and how Maori boarding schools fit into that plan.

All seven Maori boarding school principals were present including, Georgina Kingi of St Joseph's, Kay Tipene-Stephenson of Turakina, Hera Johns of Queen Victoria, Lane Davis of Hato Petera, Father Gresham of Hato Paora, Neil Barnett of St Stephens, and Ngahiwi Tangaere of Te Aute.

St Stephen's principal, Neil Barnett, said one of the main problems for all Maori schools was filling the roll. According to Mr Barnett, this is due to the financial situation of parents.

'Many cannot afford to send their children to boarding schools,' he said. 'Another problem is the availability of qualified, Maori-speaking teachers.'

Turakina principal Kay Tipene-Stephenson said there is a lot of work to be done at Maori boarding schools. She said that, of the problems associated with Maori boarding schools, the lack of Maori Education Foundation assistance was the major common concern. 'Maori families have no support to send their children to boarding school.'

All the principals agreed one day was not long enough to explore problems and ideas, so another meeting is planned soon. ■

Iwi Express - November 1990

Te Whanau: Honouring The Treaty

The Maori unit of the New Zealand Qualifications Authority (Manatu Tohu Matauranga), was given an official welcome late last month.

The aim of the unit, known as Te Whanau, is to ensure the Authority's obligations to the education system under the Treaty of Waitangi are reflected in its policy and operations. Generally, Te Whanau's role is to make sure the Authority is responsive to the aspirations, needs and concerns of Maori.

Te Whanau must also report to the Authority's Maori Education and Training Development Standing Committee, whose role it is to explore and promote ways to provide a link between the Authority and Maori.

The Authority's General Manager, David Hood, said staff had a hard job ahead of them, but he hoped Te Whanau would be able to help young Maori people realise their strengths and talents. 'Although we can't change the world we can try,' he said.

Te Whanau has a staff of eight, comprising the General Manager (Te Pou) Monte Ohia, Executive Assistant (Kaiawhina Tumuaki) Marion Tepania, Policy Analyst (Kaikarawarawa-here) Lenaire Kingi-Wilcox, Project Director (Kaiwhakahaere Mahi) Te Tiwha Puketapu, Validation/Accreditation Officer (Apiha Kaimatakitaki Tohu) Trevor Moeke, Information/Publications Officer (Apiha Kaiwhakapaoho) Lesley Krosschell, Assessment Officer (Apiha Kaiwhiriwhiri) Maiki Marks and Senior Advisory Officer (Apiha Kaimaherehere Matua) Ross White.

The name Ross White will be familiar to many who remember the days of Te Tari. Ross says he is a 'jack of all trades' in his new job and his work includes providing translation and cultural services. He also hopes to initiate tikanga and Maori language training for staff at his new workplace.

Kaumatua Hohua Tutengaehe is also able to advise the authority on tikanga Maori. ■

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Tutors fight Maori illiteracy

MAORI literacy problems are being tackled head on by a programme that uses Maori tutors.

Te Puna O Te Matauranga was set up by the Maori Caucus of the Adult Reading and Learning Assistance Federation (ARLA) and other Maori groups to help with literacy from a Maori perspective.

Literacy problems are evident in all nationalities but Maori people have been in an especially difficult situation because they have been through an education system which is supposed to have adequate, coordinator Bonny Ranfurly says.

"When I look at the truancy rate of Maori and lack of achievement of Maori it makes me know that the system isn't good for our people."

Ms Ranfurly trains Maori tutors to teach people with literacy problems. They work in all areas from social welfare through to prisons, kohanga reo, Maori committees and iwi authorities.

ARLA tutors had found they reached a particular level with Maori people and then it "seemed to seize up", she says.

"The suggestion was that maybe if Maori worked with Maori that would change. We taken up that challenge to see if that is right."

Maori people were very oral and not a writing people, Ms Ranfurly says.

"The European culture is a very 'get it on paper' culture. We have a number of things working against our people because I acknowledge the need to be able to read and write and to understand those things that come before us on paper.

"But I also understand my aunt who is in her 80s doesn't have a hell of a lot of need to be reading truckloads of paper."

Maori tutors are working to empower their people but also to enlighten Pakeha so that they have an understanding of what being Maori is about.

Culturally, Maori and Pakeha social systems work differently, Ms Ranfurly says.

"When I approach a marae I ring up and say I'd like to come and talk to you. I show them my programme and then if they feel, 'Yes, this is what we want', I offer to go and do the training.

"Pakeha operate a little bit differently. They send a letter, they assume they have got it right and know what's best, and then they go deliver this stuff assuming that we need to know it."

There are now several generations highlighting the problems of not being able to cope with reading and writing sufficiently for basic survival, she says.

This is showing up in the number of men who have been made redundant and are now coming forward for help with literacy skills.

"They have had a secure job and so haven't needed to follow up on the skills. A lot haven't even felt they have been deprived because they've had good jobs and they have had them for years."

But now have people have been made redundant from railways, the Ministry of Works, and forestry, people who never knew they were lacking anything, she says.

"Now that they have to know how to fill in Social Welfare and Labour Department forms, their wives can't go there and do that for them."

Ms Ranfurly believes that the increase in violent crime is in part generated by the frustration of losing independence and security and having to admit they don't have particular skills.

"Many other races have gone done the tube, our's hasn't and it has been the strength of our people being able to adapt and take the next step.

"Most of the steps haven't been a hell of a good for us either but we have made them and continually adapt to the changes that happen."

Dominion Sunday Times - 27 January 1991

Nelson Evening Mail - 2 February 1991

Attitudes of teachers may hinder girls

DUNEDIN

The attitude of teachers could be a major reason girls achieve less highly than boys in New Zealand schools, according to Ministry of Women's Affairs research.

The ministry hopes to identify barriers to achievement for girls, and especially Maori girls, in a project expected to be completed later this year.

The results of the work, being undertaken by the ministry's policy unit and its Maori unit, Te Ohu Whakatupu, will be presented to Women's Affairs Minister Mrs Jenny Shipley.

An initial report from the ministry, published in its latest newsletter, focuses on teacher attitude as an important factor in the achievement of girls in schools.

It said girls received a clear message they were less important than boys, and Maoris were less important than Pakeha, through being given less teacher time.

As well as a lack of interaction, there was a communication gap between teachers and the Maori pupils, research had found.

While there appeared to be few differences in achievement between Maori and Pakeha children when they entered school, those differences could be manifested by teacher attitude.

Teacher attitude and expectation could determine the future of Maori children before the age of seven.

Maori children, especially boys, had the greatest chance of being held back at school, probably not because of their ability, but because of the teachers' ideas, research had shown.

Teacher attitude was also thought to be a major reason so few girls took mathematics, physical sciences and technology subjects.

The report said a number of "blame" theories had been developed to account for the lack of attainment of Maori pupils.

These theories gave weight to the inadequacies of the children or their home or cultural background, lack of intelligence or motivation, the attitude of the children or incompetent parents.

Some theories blamed the school system as inappropriate for Maoris and others said they did not get fair access to educational resources, the report said.

"None of these theories, however, addresses the particular issue of racism in New Zealand schools. For Maori girls, racism both overt and covert is a feature of everyday life at many primary and secondary schools."

Another factor contributing to girls' lack of achievement was a lack of role models, the report said.

In 1987 women comprised 19 per cent of primary school principals and 16 per cent of secondary school principals. Women were less likely to hold positions of responsibility in subjects such as science, computing and workshop technology.

Figures showed more than one-third of Maori girls left school with no formal qualification.

More than half left before School Certificate and those who sat the examination received grades on average of between 31 per cent and 44 per cent. —NZPA

The Press - 4 February 1991

Most recent baby-boomers off to school

By MARITA VANDENBERG

New Zealand's most recent baby-boomers are off to school this year.

In a report published this week by the Ministry of Education's research and statistics department, 1991 is named as the year when big changes in primary and secondary school rolls will start.

It says New Zealand's demographic trends will see primary rolls rising by 14 per cent from 420,000 to 477,000 by the year 2000. This growth follows a 20 per cent decline in primary rolls over the last decade.

But high school rolls will fall by eight to nine per cent from 230,170 to about 210,000 by 1995.

Intermediate schools will not gain from the primary increase until the mid-1990s.

But the report says early next century the situation will reverse, with growth in secondary school enrolments and a decline in the primary area, as the wave of the baby boom passes.

It predicts that increases in numbers of pupils staying on at secondary school in the next few years will not be enough to offset the over-all drop in students starting high school.

The data revealed that the number of pupils staying on at school had more than doubled from 17 per cent in 1985 to 36 per cent in 1990.

Females were more likely than males to stay to Form 7 and that trend was set to continue.

In 1990 just over 2000 pupils were enrolled in 17 bilingual schools and seven kura kaupapa Maori (Maori immersion schools).

A further 9000 were participating in 327 bilingual classes and units. However, Maori was spoken as the language of instruction for less than half the instruction time in more than two thirds of the units.

Last year 121,000 Maori students were enrolled in schools, making up 21 per cent of primary and 15 per cent of secondary rolls. Almost a quarter of those students were in Auckland district schools.

To add to the complexity of the trends, regional patterns will also emerge, the report said. Higher-than-average growth is expected for some Northern regions such as Auckland.

Other regions, especially in the South Island, can expect lower-than-average primary roll growth and possibly a greater decline in secondary enrolments.

The report said the big fluctuations clearly meant that planning for schools and resource distribution would need to be flexible.

Christchurch primary principals reported large increases in their primary enrolments last week. The Secondary Principals' Association, however, reported a much higher than predicted return of senior students to high schools.

Excerpt from an address in Parliament on the Runanga Iwi Act Repeal Bill by the Hon. Winston Peters, Minister of Maori Affairs [no date]

And that has been the major flaw of the Runanga Iwi Act - its failure to address the economic and social woes that face our people. These are problems that were not alleviated, let alone cured, by the Act's continued existence on the statute book.

This new breed of statutory structure failed to address the grievous wrongs that beset Maoridom at the moment: the disproportionate share of our educational failures, our unemployed, our welfare beneficiaries, our prison inmates, our youth suicides and our sick.

If our people are to enjoy any degree of progress in the future, educational achievement and economic development must become our priorities.

Maoridom needs policies based on the future - not on some dream-time imagery in the minds of cultural fellow travellers and social engineers.

We must plan for the next century now to ensure that Maoridom has the educational and technological skills to contribute to the future direction of this country - and in so doing be a first world people. ■

Dominion - 5 February 1991

Leniency urged over uniforms

LABOUR'S spokesman on urban affairs, Manurewa MP George Hawkins, wants schools to go easy on children who do not have correct uniforms.

He said his electorate office had fielded calls from parents concerned they could not afford uniforms for their children.

One parent planned to share a uniform between her two children and send them to school on alternate days because she could not afford a second uniform.

Parents on a benefit were not prepared to buy uniforms on credit.

"They realise that benefit reductions from April 1 will cut their incomes and they won't be able to repay the bills," he said. — NZPA

The Press - 4 February 1991

Education gap 'deliberate'

By MARITA VANDENBERG

The educational gap between Maori and pakeha is the result of a deliberate design in the New Zealand education system, Dr Ranginui Walker, the chairman of the Maori University Teachers' Association (Te Matawhanui), told the association's annual conference at Ellesmere during the weekend.

For more than a century the education system had been used as "an artefact of colonialism" to maintain pakeha dominance and Maori subjection, he said.

The insertion of Treaty of Waitangi principles in school and university charters was the "green light" that the long-held educational policy of Maori exclusion was no longer acceptable, he told the 60 delegates.

Outlining the history of Maori education, Dr Walker described early "native schools" and the banning of the Maori language in school precincts from 1905.

Schooling demanded "cultural surrender" and Maori pupils had dropped out as a result, he said.

"Instead of education being embraced as a process of growth and personal development, for Maori children school became an arena of cultural conflict."

A shining beacon of Maori academic success, Te Aute College, had been forced by the Education Department to replace the successful academic curriculum with an agricultural and manual one. The school resisted and had its scholarships suspended.

"This official agenda of suppressing Maori talent explains the 50-year gap between the first wave of Maori graduates (such as Apirana Ngata and Peter Buck) and the second wave that did not appear until the sixties and seventies."

According to the inspector of native schools at the time, William Bird, Maori children were educated "not to mingle with Europeans and compete with Europeans in trade and commerce".

Dr Walker said this manipulation of the curriculum provided a two-tier education system bringing about separatism on racial lines.

The resulting threat of "language death" a decade ago prompted the establishment of Kohanga Reo, the pre-school Maori language nests.

The resounding success of these reflected and encouraged the Maori potential to initiate change in education.

Some university departments had recently responded to the Maori dynamic of biculturalism and inclusion by appointing Maori staff. The appointments provided models for the recruitment and retention of Maori students but a lone individual faced a Herculean task of transforming a monocultural system, he said.

Outlining options for change, Dr Walker said Maori academics now needed to formulate their own agenda in the tertiary sector.

Ideally social transformation should occur within existing institutional arrangements, he said.

CHAPTER 6

Literature Review

Introduction

A very extensive literature exists on the subject of career change in general, and for the teaching sector in particular there are many publications. NZCER's library staff undertook computer searches according to key words related to the topic, and acquired abstracts or full transcripts of many of the papers identified. Nelson Public Library also obtained a number of papers which could not be accessed through NZCER or other academic networks. Most studies were undertaken overseas and only a small number seemed relevant to the kaupapa of this study. It was interesting to note that of the studies which were unobtainable, almost all were published in United Kingdom journals.

The issue of why teachers leave teaching has been investigated at various times and in various ways in a number of countries. The matter frequently arises when there is a general shortage of teachers or of teachers in specific curriculum areas. Because the particular aspects of the problem which are examined often reflect the society in which the work is carried out, some of the studies do not seem to have much relevance to New Zealand.

Before designing the interview questions, an attempt was made to obtain research reports relevant to the study. NZCER ran literature searches to identify titles. Topics included career change for teachers, employment patterns of teachers, factors affecting teacher retention, job satisfaction for teachers, and such matters as teaching conditions, stress in teaching, salary structures, and promotion opportunities. We also sought studies on Maori teachers in general and some reports on Maori education. Studies on the role and experience of ethnic minority teachers (e.g., Black teachers in the United States) or on teachers involved in bilingual situations (e.g., Hispanic teachers in California) were included in the search.
Most of the literature obtained came from the United States, Australia, or New Zealand. Some of the papers we would like to have read could not be obtained through NZCER nor through the public library system. While recognising that this geographic spread is probably limited by the networks to which NZCER has access, we are surprised by the absence of material from some countries which might seem to have some common cultural background with New Zealand. The Welsh and Irish experiences of total immersion and bilingual education seem to be particularly relevant.

The papers which were obtained cover an extremely wide range of approaches to the teacher retention issue, and a long list of factors which affect a teacher's decision to stay or to go have been identified. Some researchers have concentrated on psychological factors such as opportunities for fulfilment, recognition, esteem, self-actualisation, security, and autonomy. Social factors such as status, effect on family and social life, and teaching as a life style have also been studied. Others have looked at task-related factors such as job content, task repetitiveness, time required, intrinsic rewards, and stress. The immediate work environment has been studied by a further group of researchers who examined such issues as the physical environment, the organisation of the school, the supervisory style, extracurricular demands and responsibilities, and the relationship between teacher and principal, teacher and other staff, and teacher and the community. Organisation-wide factors have also been addressed by researchers who have studied salary structures, salary structures in comparison with others with a similar level of education and training, opportunities for promotion, mobility, policies and philosophies underlying the organisation, and ways in which excellence is recognised. There has also been some work done on ethnic and cultural factors as they affect teachers, especially in situations where there is some discrepancy between the teacher and the system.

The issue of the role of the Maori teacher in the New Zealand education system has surfaced in recent years, but much of the work the authors were able to obtain is anecdotal or impressionistic. There seems to be a great deal of work still to be done in this field. At the time of writing a study of first-year Maori teachers is being carried out by Kathie Irwin of Victoria University of Wellington. The literature surveyed by the researchers falls into a number of categories:

- psychological factors,
- why teachers leave,
- school systems,
- teacher selection and training,
- ethnic minority factors, and
- Maori education issues.

Psychological Factors

De Long (1984) says there are 5 central career drives: security, technical and functional competence, managerial competence, creativity, and autonomy. He also identifies 3 other career drives - identity, service, and variety. In a study of rural and urban teachers he discovered 2 major groupings of teachers - a group who value managerial activities, autonomy, and variety, and a group who value security and technical competence. These groups were evenly spread over both urban and rural teachers. De Long suggests that administrators should be aware of the needs of both groups, and that one group should not be supported at the expense of the other.

Sweeney (1981) examines the issue from the perspective of need deficiency - the lack of fulfilment of higher level needs. He identifies the higher level needs as esteem, self-actualisation, security, and autonomy. He says there have been changes in the security factor in recent times. He says there is a strong relationship between a teacher's age and need deficiencies, and that generally as age increases need deficiencies decrease. He records the fact that teachers who work most of their time with low-ability students report less satisfaction than other teachers.

Diamond and Borthwick (1989) say that teachers gave psychological reasons for both staying and leaving; pragmatic reasons were also given to support both intentions to stay and intentions to leave. Of the reasons given, buzz or excitement, interpersonal reasons, and course-related reasons were used to explain staying rather than leaving.

Belok (1965) reports that teachers believe they have little freedom and that they are restricted both by the school and by the community. Hahn (1968) emphasises the importance of the relationship between the teacher and the principal. He discusses the idea of punishment for creative teaching and identifies a conflict for teachers who must choose between loyalty to the students or loyalty to the principal.

Porter and Steers (1973) say that overall job satisfaction is consistently and inversely related to turnover. They identify 4 main categories from which job satisfaction derives:

- organisation-wide factors such as pay, promotion, and underlying policies;
- immediate work environment factors such as supervisory style and peer group interaction;
- job-related factors such as job content and task repetitiveness;
- personal factors such as autonomy/responsibility, role clarity, length of service, personality, vocational interest, and family responsibilities.

They say there is a significant correlation between expressed intent to stay and subsequent employee participation.

Why Teachers Leave

A number of researchers have investigated former teachers' reasons for leaving, as this study does.

Fruth *et al.* (1982) say that teaching is more a calling than a job and that intrinsic motivation which is related to a teacher's sense of personhood, professional identity, and personal meanings and hopes is the most powerful link to teacher performance. They say that former teachers are unwilling to cope rather than unable to. Some former teachers spoke of the frustrations of dealing with unsupportive administrations and unhappy colleagues, some did not like confrontations with students, parents, and/or administrations over discipline, while others had simply tired of dealing with the problems. Former teachers saw themselves as seeking broader horizons and opportunities to use more of their abilities, or as seeking work in systems which reward meritorious service. Most would not go back; they talked about personal needs which teaching, much as they liked it, could not fulfil.

In the same study, administrators listed 4 main reasons why they believed teachers had left teaching:

1. Money.
2. A need for new challenges, new careers, or other opportunities for professional growth.
3. Frustrations with the structure, support, or the occupation itself.

4. Personal issues such as spouse transfer or an inappropriate social environment for young teachers.

Administrators saw the former teachers as more independent, self-confident, upwardly mobile, and younger, with few roots in the community. They often had significant part-time jobs while they were teaching. Fruth *et al*. concluded that greater administrative support, greater freedom, public recognition for excellence, and rewards for individual contributions would all be incentives to stay in teaching. The key reward, however, is working with students and student achievement. Monetary compensation, time autonomy, and administrative support are of secondary importance. Teachers need a balance of service to others and service to self. For this reason opportunities for growth and professional development are very important.

Deschamp and Beck (1979) say that being geographically separated from communities to which they feel akin or from amenities and services to which they are accustomed can influence teachers to leave.

Clayton and Wilson (1984) studied non-returning first-year teachers in Alabama. They say that 47.2 percent left the profession entirely (43.1 percent of these for personal reasons and 56.9 percent for job-related reasons); 52.8 percent changed school systems (38.5 percent of these for personal reasons and 61.5 percent for job-related reasons). Those reporting personal reasons in both groups reported better relationships with colleagues and supervisors than those reporting job-related reasons. Relocation due to marriage was the major personal reason for changing systems and having children the major personal reason for leaving education. Being dismissed was the major job-related reason for both changing systems, and leaving education. Fifty-two percent of those who changed systems reported satisfactory orientation experiences in teaching, but only 40 percent of those who left teaching saw their orientation experiences as satisfactory.

Allred and Smith (1982) in a study of rural Utah teachers found that salary was an important issue with nearly 75 percent of rural teachers finding it necessary to have a second source of income.

Russell (1979) found higher teacher mobility among lower-salaried teachers with more men than women and more Whites than Blacks likely to leave for other positions.

Burlingame (late 1970s) says there are constant comings and goings in all ages, sex, and teaching certification categories and there is a need for a large pool of female elementary teachers who exit frequently. He cites burnout - a loss of professional vitality and interest due to extreme client demand - as a likely reason for teachers leaving. Burlingame suggests longer breaks as a possible solution.

Lowther, Coppard, Gill, and Tank (1982) studied data about teachers from 3 sets of national surveys carried out in the United States between 1966 and 1978. The surveys were concerned with quality of employment (1969, 1973, and 1977), quality of American life (1971 and 1978), and labour market experience (1966-1977). Teachers' responses were compared to responses of other college-educated workers. Some conclusions were that:

- the likelihood of divorce or separation is higher among teachers than among other college-educated people or workers generally;

- teachers appear to earn lower personal incomes than other college-educated people, but about the same as workers in the total sample;

- teachers reported being slightly more satisfied with their work than college-educated non-teachers, and much more satisfied than workers in the total sample;

- rewards for teachers are mainly intrinsic, and teachers are less dependent on extrinsic rewards than other workers;

- there is some evidence to suggest that teachers harbour greater feelings of ambivalence towards their work than do workers in other fields.

Teachers said they worked long hours although this seems to be perception rather than reality when compared with hours worked by those in other occupations. Teachers were more likely to see the physical conditions in which they work as uncomfortable, and approximately twice the percentage of teachers as those in the other 2 groups (college-educated non-teachers and workers as a whole) indicated that a physical or nervous condition was made more severe by their job. Teachers were much more likely than college-educated non-teachers and about as likely as workers in the total sample to report a job-related illness in the 3 years preceding a survey. Many spouses of teachers worked, and work was more important for life satisfaction for younger teachers; older teachers relied more on family as their source of life satisfaction.

Isherwood (1975) identifies qualities apparently necessary for remaining a teacher. They are:

- a high perception of family's academic achievement levels,

- little or no apparent stress related to academic performance and work,

- an interest in social contacts and in working with people,

- a family education background which is higher than average,

- a realistic approach to dealing with problems,

- a highly investigative interest,

- a more conservative and conventional life style than the norm,

- artistic interest and ability, and

- an expressed attitude which endorses the intrinsic value of education.

Murnane, Singer, and Willett (1989), in a study of White North Carolina teachers from the perspective of salaries and opportunity costs of staying in teaching, found that elementary teachers were less likely to leave than secondary teachers and that 60 percent were still in teaching after 8 years. In the secondary service 46 percent remained at 8 years with different patterns for subject speciality, salary, and NTE score (rating as teachers). Salary was a less important factor for elementary teachers than for secondary teachers. Thirty percent of those hired between 1976 and 1978 who left teaching within 5 years returned by 1986. Elementary teachers were much more likely to return than secondary teachers.

James J. Kemple (1989) presented a companion paper on "The Career Paths of Black Teachers in North Carolina". He found that the majority tended to stay once they had entered and that they were reasonably likely to return if they left. Over two-thirds of the 2535 Black teachers who began careers in North Carolina between 1974 and 1982 were still teaching in 1985-86 regardless of when they started. Over one-third of the 782 who left before the 1984-85 school year returned before the 1985-86 school year. Teachers with the highest "opportunity costs", i.e., the salaries they forgo by teaching instead of pursuing alternative career opportunities, are most likely to leave teaching. The median lifetime for Black teachers in the sample was almost twice that of White teachers in previous research. The probability of returning was highest after the first year of interruption, and the estimated probability of returning after 5 or more years is almost zero. Kemple divided teachers into 5 categories - maths, biology, English, social studies, and elementary school. He found that male maths and biology teachers were most likely to leave. Female maths and biology teachers were less likely to leave than their male counterparts. Kemple is not sure whether this indicates that Black women mathematicians and biologists have more limited access to non-teaching opportunities than their male colleagues, or whether women who often have other responsibilities as well, such as childcare, may respond differently to different opportunity costs. Young entering teachers were less likely to return than those who entered after age 23, and while biology, maths, English, and social studies teachers are equally likely to return, high school subject teachers are less likely to return than elementary teachers.

"The Metropolitan Life Survey of Former Teachers in America", 1986, identifies 3 main reasons for leaving teaching: poor salaries and working conditions; stress; and professional prestige. Twenty-one percent of those who leave go to executive and managerial positions, 20 percent to professional specialties, 5 percent to technical occupations, and 37 percent to careers in sales. Former teachers work approximately 50 hours per week in their new occupations - about the same as teachers. Former teachers were all kinds of teachers although two-thirds are men and 70 percent came from secondary schools. Teachers are likely to leave early in their career. Signs of imminent leaving are moonlighting, frequent job stress, and a belief that intellectual challenge is better in other occupations. The survey makes some recommendations about how to attract and retain good teachers. Career change for former teachers has meant higher salary, less job stress, and greater job satisfaction. Fifty-eight percent say they miss teaching but 83 percent say they are unlikely to return to the classroom.

Moracco, D'Anenzo, and Danford (1983), in their "Comparison of Perceived Occupational Stress Between Teachers who are Contented and Discontented in their Career Choices", found that 52 percent of the 691 teachers they surveyed would not become teachers again while 48 percent would. Those who would not become teachers again perceived more stress, were absent more frequently, and said stress was a greater factor in their absences than the contented teachers did. Teachers in small schools perceived less stress than those in larger schools.

Kleinert (1968), in investigating teacher turnover in an affluent school district, suggests, as reasons for departure, the high cost of living in the area and young teachers' needs for greater recognition and challenge than the conventional teaching role gives them.

Wilkins and Korschgen (1985), in looking at those who resigned before retirement age from teaching in Wisconsin public schools between 1982 and 1984, give some support to the idea that the more able teachers are likely to leave, but say that conclusion is based on small numbers and small percentages.

Bloland and Selby (1980), in a review of literature concerned with career change among secondary school teachers, establish 3 main categories: demographic factors, professional and personal factors, and school-related factors.

In demographic factors they say that:

- single males are the most mobile and are most likely to move out of education altogether;
- married males are the next most mobile but they are likely to move to a higher-level, better paid position, which may still be in education;
- both single women and married women (the least mobile group) are likely to move out rather than up;
- Blacks have a slightly higher tendency to mobility;
- and social class can be a factor, with those who have a higher socioeconomic background being the more likely to leave.

In professional and personal factors they give as important factors which can influence a decision to stay or to leave:

- salary (which is more important for males than females),
- little opportunity for advancement, menial duties, and non-recognition,
- burnout, and
- the influence of spouse or best friend.

School-related factors include:

- the size of the school (the frequency of teacher career change increases with the size of the school, while teachers in small faculty groups are more satisfied with their job situations than are those in large faculty groupings);
- integration of teacher with the school (teachers who were racially different from the principal and the majority of students left teaching significantly more than non-discrepant teachers, and discrepant White teachers left significantly more than discrepant non-White teachers although one study shows that job satisfaction among secondary school principals appears to be independent of the racial composition of the student body);

- student attitudes and discipline (including a teacher need to resolve the authority v. rapport dilemma and the intrinsic rewards deriving from in-class interaction);

- relationship with colleagues (especially in matters of approaches to pupil control); and

- especially the teacher's relationship with the principal (one of the most frequently cited reasons former teachers gave for having left the profession).

Bloland and Selby suggest that in attempting to investigate teaching as a career it may be more important to focus on senior teachers who leave the profession rather than on younger teachers for whom teaching may represent only a tentative commitment.

In an Australian study, Bruce and Cacioppe (1989) found that teachers resigned from government secondary schools in Western Australia for a number of reasons. Both male and female former teachers were affected by problems of classroom discipline and administrative practices. Other reasons given by male former teachers for their resignations were the fact that teacher assessments were the sole responsibility of the subject superintendent, salary structure, salary level in comparison with other professions, and perceived discrimination in the allocation of class size, relief duties, and playground duties. Female former teachers reported the encroachment of teaching duties on family and social life, problems of classroom discipline such as motivation and homework, and lack of administrative support as important factors in their decisions to resign.

Lowther, Stark, and Chapman (1984) compared teachers with those who had been trained as teachers but who worked in other areas. They found that teachers had a stronger sense of being locked into their current job, and a more negative view of their prospects for advancement. They also demonstrated a higher initial commitment, believed their own educational experiences were well utilised in teaching, and that they had achieved leadership and positive recognition. However, teachers had a less positive perception of achieving leadership and positive recognition, of having opportunities to influence their organisation, of their status and prestige, and of their satisfaction with their life and their job than did the non-teachers. Lowther, Spark, and Chapman suggest that recognition based on promotion, increased job responsibility, and other forms of symbolic advancement may be more potent than monetary incentives alone.

Rosemary McLeod, in the December 1990 issue of *North and South*, has an essay entitled "Teachers Who Don't: The Lost Educators" which consists largely of interviews with well-known New Zealanders who were once teachers. Two Maori former teachers, Tamati and Tilly Reedy, were among the subjects of McLeod's study. Their stories are of interest to the authors. Both are involved in education and educational policy matters in 1990.

School Systems

Armstrong (1983), in a paper concerned with induction processes and the conditions of practice for beginning teachers, says that new teachers need an understanding of the special structure of the education system which he says is a conservative, hierarchical power structure (he is writing about systems in the United States). He says they also need help with site-specific aspects of their initial schools. He warns that teachers with the highest potential for success tend to prize values such as "freedom and independence" and "expression of creativity". They need to know how their views can be incorporated into decision-making processes, that they will have to balance many conflicting roles, and that teaching can be a lonely profession. Some of the site-specific information relates to what is considered good and appropriate teaching. Armstrong says schools may have a therapeutic or compensatory orientation, an intellectual orientation, or a life-centred orientation. He says that efforts should be made to match beginning teachers' capabilities to their instructional situation. Above all, beginning teachers do not need failure and should not be assigned to very difficult or unmotivated classes.

Silverman (1956-57), in a discussion of teacher morale, says that principals must meet teachers' needs for security by backing up teachers, that the personal qualities of principals are very important for teacher morale, and that principals should pay attention to the physical comfort and personal convenience of teachers.

Chussil (1971) says that teachers are still frequently treated like unreliable children, that subservience and conformity are expected in return for pay, and that teachers need more responsibility and greater participation in decision making.

Dillman (1964), in a study of teacher activities and professional growth as perceived by physicians, lawyers, clergy, and educators, reached the conclusions that professional growth is very important for teachers and that teachers carry out many menial tasks. In ranking the conditions and activities of teachers for importance, there was general agreement that teacher tenure and retirement conditions were most important, followed by formal education for enrichment and helping individual students with lessons in joint second place, and teacher-parent conferences in fourth place.

Mager, Myers, Maresca, Rupp, and Armstrong (1986) studied changes in teachers' work lives which covered a wide range of changes including changes in subject area, age level of students, type of class, area of school, school administration, responsibility, etc. They considered whether the changes were voluntary or not and examined what they identified as the critical factors: the period of adaptation, stress points, and sources of support.

McArthur (1981) studied a group of secondary teachers in their final year of training, in their first year of teaching, and 5 years later. He says that the early years of teaching are critical and that teachers either identify with and make a commitment to teaching or leave. He says there are 3 processes of social influence: compliance, identification, and internalisation. He says there is a shift in the early years of teaching from idealistic, humanistic, and progressive attitudes and beliefs towards realism, conservatism, toughmindedness, and custodialism. He says there are 4 kinds of teachers: the pupil-oriented, the subject-oriented, the benefits-oriented, and the GASers (those who concentrate on getting the attention of supervisors with a view to promotion, etc.). McArthur discusses the "anticipatory socialisation" which occurs during training and the "reality shock" of actually finding oneself in a classroom with a full teaching load. His subjects made a number of criticisms of the training they had received: too much theory and not enough practice; college staff who were remote from teaching situations; insufficient training in administrative matters and in all the other activities expected of teachers; too long a gap between the last teaching section and actually beginning teaching. McArthur's subjects would like to see more time spent on teaching methods and less on sociology and psychology; a week or two in the new schools to which they are appointed at the end of the training year; role-playing and training in personal development and relaxation techniques. McArthur makes some very specific recommendations about induction processes for new teachers. His general conclusions are that the reality shock of beginning teaching is severe, that there is a strengthening in commitment or career orientation over time, that some who left and returned during the 5-year period differed very little in ideological values and expressed commitment from those who had stayed, and that stability of tenure seems more likely to minimise increasing custodialism.

Pauling (1980), in a study of school organisation and its impact on teachers, examined attitudes, beliefs, activities, and behaviour of administrators and some staff in an intermediate school in South Auckland. His conclusions encompassed the following matters: disparity between policy and its implementation; the non-supportive attitude of teachers towards corporate features of school organisation; the allegiance of teachers to their home class over and above other facets of the school; overwhelming teacher dislike of team and paired teaching; discrepancy between what is "officially" achieved in syndicate groups and what is actually achieved; reluctance of teachers to confide in administrative staff; lack of effective professional guidance; teachers' lack of confidence in PRs; the "me" rather than "we" philosophy; the inspectorate as a cause of teacher cynicism; discrepancies between what teachers think they are doing, what they say they are doing, what they appear to others to be doing, and what they are doing; the impersonal atmosphere in a larger school and the loss of informality and the freedom to innovate. We hope that the school examined by Pauling is not representative.

Teacher Selection and Training

We have already referred to McArthur's study and the criticisms young teachers made of their training in Australia: too much theory and not enough practice, too much psychology and sociology and not enough teaching method, staff remote from teaching situations, insufficient training in administrative matters and in all the other activities expected of teachers, too long a gap between last teaching section and actively beginning teaching.

Batchelor (1986), in a thesis completed in 1986 for Massey University, used the Delphi technique* to investigate weaknesses of Division A teacher selection procedures in New Zealand. He said that at that time some of the major criteria for selection were: overt personal qualities (e.g., sense of humour), covert personal qualities (e.g., initiative), academic ability (including communication skills), and involvement (e.g., with children).

A review of the literature revealed:

(a) existence of apparent discrepancies between candidates' academic ability and intelligence and their success in teaching;

---

* A research technique in which various scenarios for the future are circulated to a group of experts for comment.

(b) personality traits and characteristics of teachers on entry to training show no consistent relationship with success in teaching;

(c) the criterion of experience with children (involvement) is based more on common sense than on research evidence.

Batchelor's 3-round Delphi process confirmed and extended the findings of the literature review by indicating 11 major and significant weaknesses in Division A teacher selection procedures in New Zealand. Selectors decided that (starting with the most important first) -

1. "Commitment" is too difficult to assess.
2. Selectors cannot be confident that qualities can be assessed in the time available and with the instruments available.
3. Referees' reports are not always reliable.
4. Procedures fail to provide sufficient information on the candidates' ability to teach effectively.
5. The Government times the announcement of quotas too long after interviews.
6. Not enough emphasis is given to teacher recruitment especially of males, adults, Maori, and Pacific Islanders.
7. Criterion of "involvement" disadvantages some applicants and is difficult to interpret.
8. Abandoning academic criteria has made it difficult for selectors to assess an applicant's suitability for tertiary study.
9. It is difficult to separate the large number of "middling" applicants.
10. Secondary school principals' reports are not reliable sources of information about candidates.
11. Low-ranking Maori and Pacific Island applicants receive preference to satisfy "target" requirements.

Batchelor makes 8 recommendations for change.

Bill Karaitiana and others (4 Christchurch Teachers' College students) studied 55 final-year trainees at Christchurch Teachers' College in 1985 to examine their socioeconomic backgrounds and teaching preferences. They found that 27 percent of the sample could be regarded as coming from working-class backgrounds according to the Elley-Irving Scale. 31

percent from middle-class, and 42 percent from upper-class. In looking at the 6 teaching sections attended by trainees, they found that working-class trainees went to working-class schools more often than they went to middle-class schools, and to an even greater extent, than they went to upper-class schools. Both upper- and middle-class trainees generally went to middle-class schools more often than they went to working-class schools.

In looking at trainees' stated preference of schools they would or would not like to teach in, trainees from lower socioeconomic backgrounds preferred to teach in schools in lower socioeconomic areas, while trainees from upper socioeconomic backgrounds showed a definite preference not to teach in these schools. Some trainees from middle socioeconomic class background (35 percent) chose one of the low socioeconomic schools as first preference, but the middle socioeconomic status trainees also had the highest percentage (57.5 percent) choosing these schools as their last preference. All trainees were fairly reluctant to teach in upper socioeconomic status schools, but trainees from low socioeconomic backgrounds showed the highest preference for not wanting to teach in these schools (66.7 percent).

Trainees felt that Teachers' College had prepared them best for teaching in schools in middle socioeconomic status areas - 90 percent thought the training adequate preparation for this sort of school. Eight-five percent thought the training was adequate for teaching in high socioeconomic status schools. However, 60 percent believed they were inadequately prepared to teach in low socioeconomic status schools, and this was particularly true for trainees who identified with a working-class background.

Some comments made by the final-year trainees included:

- that Teachers' College is based on middle-class values and ideals;
- that Teachers' College is on the wrong side of town for trainees (especially those with university commitments) to gain experience in working-class schools; and
- that leaving multicultural studies until the final year meant that Teachers' College was preparing large numbers of culturally ignorant and insensitive teachers.

Karaitiana *et al*. concluded that, unless Teachers' College took positive and active measures to equip its trainees, working-class schools would continue to be underserved with underconfident teachers.

Ramsden, in her 1990 report "Kawa Whakaruruhau - Cultural Safety in Nursing Education in Aotearoa", develops a theoretical base as a result of a number of hui of Maori nursing students. She says cultural safety - "the right to have my culture validated through teaching for health practice that does not put my culture and values and beliefs of our people at risk" - depends on 4 critical elements:

1. Training in understanding te Tiriti o Waitangi [the Treaty of Waitangi]; preparation for mutually defined partnership.

2. Racism awareness training: Pakehatanga, power analysis, structural analysis, history; decolonisation training for Maori and power analysis, history of colonisation.

3. Cultural content - to be negotiated with tangata whenua, facilitated by Maori tutors.

4. Associated model for equal and negotiated partnership training.

In her report she discusses the job description and roles of Maori tutors, including the extensive counselling component with Maori students which is necessary "because most nursing courses are culturally unsafe".

Ramsden makes recommendations concerning Maori tutors which are relevant to this study. They are (in a shortened, somewhat paraphrased form):

- flexible class hours for Maori tutors because of differing demands of their roles;
- the place of tuition to be at the discretion of the tutor;
- extra time for Maoritanga for Maori students to be at discretion of tutor and negotiation with the student;
- co-operation with other tutors of Maoritanga in the institution for support and collaboration;
- collaborative style appropriate where there is more than one Maori tutor in a department;
- Maori tutors to assess cultural safety in the clinical setting where possible;
- teaching content must relate to local area in history and kawa and any other special areas nominated by tangata whenua;
- budgets must be provided for special areas of education of Maori teachers, e.g., reo courses, hui, staff development, and for travel to Maori schools and homes;
- Maori nurse teachers should also act as models and examples for Maori students in schools, particularly Maori independent schools;
- there needs to be a monitoring role for Maori tutors in the development of racism awareness courses for Pakeha tutors;
- all Maori tutors should have automatic membership of curriculum committees (one alone is at cultural risk);
- Maori tutors should have management of the budget for students to attend the annual National Council of Maori Nurses Student Hui;
- a koha system should be available in all polytechnics for distributing to Maori who contribute special skills to the course;
- Maori tutors must be given appropriate promotional opportunities in recognition of their professional and cultural strengths;

- administrators should be aware that if Maori teachers are required to fulfil Pakeha role expectations as well as the expectations of Maori people, a recipe for disaster is in place (high rate of Maori tutors leaving because of frustration at being unable to create change; stress levels as a result of conflict between two realities).

Mahan and Lacefield (1982) looked at a teacher training course in the United States which was especially designed to prepare teachers to teach in multicultural schools. They found that there is a definite need for such teacher training; that graduates from this course are successful in the job market; that graduates from this course tend to seek the type of job which allows them to use their training and experience more fully; and that both professional and lay people in ethnic minority communities are willing to accept Anglo pre-service teachers into their midst and to assist in the development of classroom teaching and cultural adaptation skills.

Logan (1952) looked at the training of Maori students in a residential teachers' training college nearly 40 years ago. His paper reflects some of the patronising attitudes of the time. He concludes that Maori students tend to score lower in examinations, assignments, etc., than Europeans; that subjects involving the use of English language give most trouble to Maori students; that Maori students find "abstract" subjects (e.g., psychology, education) difficult; that manual subjects are well attempted by Maori students; and that too few Maori students show improvement in the second year. He also records that Maori students are considered to be handicapped because they are "often with a restricted background of European culture", and that although a large proportion of Maori students are at Teachers' College as part of a quota to supply teachers to Maori schools, the Teachers' College provides no special training for the teaching of Maori children. He also records that Maori students generally do well on teaching sections and in their probationary assistant year. In 1990 the paper seems to tell more about the inappropriateness of teacher training in 1952 than about Maori student teachers; several of the former teachers interviewed for this study had attended that same Teachers' College.

Ethnic Minority Factors

Kemple's (1989) study of the career paths of Black teachers in North Carolina has been mentioned earlier in this chapter in "Why Teachers Leave" (p. 98).

Silver, Dennis, and Spikes (1988) studied the characteristics, experiences, and perceptions of Black faculty in traditionally White institutions in 10 states of the United States. They found that there were significant barriers to success for Black faculty including exclusion from influence networks (especially informal networks), lack of resources and incentives, difficulty of publishing works in mainstream publications, heavier service workloads, and less recognition for unconventional scholarships. They also found that limited numbers of Blacks are tenured, and that while publication, achievement, and performance are important, so are ascriptive traits, personal qualities of style and manner, conforming behaviour, mentors, and sponsors. Some of the activities in which Black faculty are very involved, such as tasks related to minority affairs (counselling, committees, and community service) and recruiting Black faculty and students, are not recognised as being useful for gaining either promotion or tenure. They are at the same time quite time consuming and can prevent or limit a Black staff member's ability to publish.

Silver, Dennis, and Spikes conclude that person-to-person recruitment seems to appeal to Black faculty candidates; that Black faculty need a campus environment where they can feel welcome, secure, and have opportunities for professional growth; that retention is also an issue; that it can be very difficult for a lone Black person in a department; and that they (the researchers) have some reservations about whether tenure decisions are equitable.

Kolbert (1985), in a paper entitled "Minority Faculty: Bleak Future", says that minority faculty are losing ground in the United States and that the outlook for minority graduate students is not good. He says that progress will depend on commitment and federal backing.

Turner (1984) studied the Hispanic population in California and the implications for education. She found that the Hispanic population is rising and should make up between 24 and 28 percent by the year 2000; that 91.6 percent of Hispanics live in urban areas; that Hispanics are disproportionately concentrated in low-income, low-status jobs in farm, service, and blue-collar occupations with a median income which is 76 percent of that of non-Hispanics; that 72 percent of all Hispanic students are considered to be underachievers; that Hispanics are greatly underrepresented in the teacher population; that there is a critical shortage of bilingual teachers; that the segregation of Hispanic students has noticeably increased; and that teachers expect poor performance from Hispanic students. She also comments that bilingual employment has contributed to the segregation of Hispanic staff, and that there are strong disincentives for bilingual teaching positions in most school districts, although she does not explain what they are.

Maori Education Issues

Simon (1986) discusses some philosophical and pragmatic issues at the heart of Maori education. She says:

- that treating all pupils in the same way can appear to be egalitarian but in fact discriminates against Maori pupils and reinforces Pakeha dominance;

- that Maoritanga in the classroom can be appropriated by Pakeha power to reinforce paternalistic views and to serve Pakeha interests;

- that deficit ideology, which sees the Maori child as a problem, maintains the Pakeha-defined goals of the education system as "natural" and legitimate and at the same time conceals the bias in the system.

She concludes that these concepts result in low teacher expectation of Maori children, misinterpretation by teachers of many Maori ways of behaving, and feelings of resentment and indignation on the part of Maori children when Pakeha teachers criticise their behaviour while ignoring similar behaviour in Pakeha children.

Simon also says that Maori teachers find it easier to deal with Maori children claimed to be "behaviour problems" themselves than to explain to Pakeha teachers how to do so. She believes that the low self-image of Maori children is a reflection of Maori power deficiency in the wider society, and that too much attention and effort is going into helping the Maori child to survive and to participate as fully as possible when it should be directed at changing the system. Simon warns, too, that official policies can be subverted at departmental, board, or school levels, and that Maori control of programmes is essential.

Alton-Lee, Nuthall, and Patrick (1987) looked at the hidden influence of curriculum - what actually happens in the classroom - and its effect on patterns of response in Maori children and racism in the classroom. They say there are 2 important components of the hidden curriculum: the tacit teaching of norms and values in routines and in the institutional context of schooling; and where knowledge comes from, whose knowledge it is, and what groups in society it supports. Private pupil interactions are also part of the curriculum, and the culture of schools is in fact a "lived" culture, seen especially in unconscious teacher behaviour, e.g., identifying with a particular group through the use of pronouns such as "us" and "them". They provide poignant examples of Maori pupil response to the hidden curriculum.

Many other poignant examples of Maori teachers' and Maori pupils' experiences of this sort are provided in Joan Metge's (1986) book *In and Out of Touch: Whakamaa in Cross Cultural Context*, and her earlier (1984) publication, co-authored with Patricia Kinloch, *Talking Past Each Other: Problems of Cross Cultural Communication*.

Benton (1986), in a paper prepared for the Social Policy Review, discusses a number of issues of significance for Maori education - in particular low teacher expectation of Polynesian pupils, co-operative and competitive learning, and language learning in kohanga reo. A number of other issues he discusses such as teaching children how to talk, facilitating pupil learning in classrooms, opportunity to learn, pupil behaviour which facilitates learning, pupil access to resources, the nature of pupil learning, mis-learning, attitudes, and savants and saboteurs in the classroom are relevant to all students. In a later paper Benton (1988) discusses some of the pitfalls of "Tomorrow's Schools". He says at that time (1988) that he believes that bilingual and kaupapa Maori schools and programmes could be at risk because teacher training and staff development are essential but will be difficult to fund; high-quality publications in Maori are a critical component for success but their production is likely to decline in the business-oriented, cost-recovery atmosphere of "Tomorrow's Schools"; advisory services are moving to full cost recovery; and the fact that everything has to be approved by the Minister could lead to political constraints, with intervention a clear possibility. Benton concludes by warning his readers to watch for "the suppression of divergent views and of those who voice them under the guise of accountability; the replacement of vision and inspiration by conformity and coercion".

In his book *Flight of the Amokura* published in 1981, Benton addresses such matters as the teaching of Maori; the history, philosophy, issues, and implications of bilingual education; and such important issues as who should control traditional knowledge, the preparation of teaching materials, and teacher training, especially of fluent Maori speakers. He says that confidence and facility in Maori language is often of minor importance beside the school's social goals of encouraging better attitudes towards the school and helping to foster good relations between Maori and other New Zealanders. Benton concludes that there are 4 major moral criteria implied in decisions about bilingual education: the promotion of social justice; the achievement of social equality; recognition of the significance of communal ties; and the development of individual or personal authenticity and identity.

Thorsen, a PPTA field officer, has presented 2 papers on issues directly related to Maori teachers. In the first (1984), he addresses the issue of power imbalance in society. He says that almost all positions of power are held by Pakehas, and that Pakeha priorities are different as can be seen in attitudes to taha Maori. He says that most Pakehas believe in the superiority of their own culture and ascribe to the cultural deficit theory which sees Maori children as problems, culturally deprived, and having a restricted language code. The Pakeha teacher frequently sees his or her role as making up the deficit. Thorsen maintains that the Maoriness of students should be affirmed, not devalued, and that change is only possible through power-sharing. This change would involve:

- a Maori presence at all levels of decision making;
- Maori decision makers selected by Maori people;
- closer contact between schools and the community so that power sharing can occur (will involve time and risks);
- positive nurturing of Maori teachers - they are very important but miss out on promotion, feel undervalued and isolated, many leave;
- greater use of women who are likely to understand the Maori position better than men - they are themselves an oppressed minority and they want to know; and
- a need for alternative schools.

Thorsen concludes that we need a system which derives its legitimacy from equity rather than from the use of power by the dominant group against the subordinate group.

In another paper, Thorsen (1987) addresses the plight of the Maori language teacher. He says the Maori language teacher has to embody taha Maori, must gain sympathy and support for taha Maori in the school and in the community, is working in a hierarchical school structure which is culturally foreign, is teaching a subject which is considered to be second rate in the light of School Certificate results, has a difficulty in that parents do not want their children to take a subject which has such poor results, is expected to teach music, drama, art, language, and writing outside school time, must present meticulous planning in order to justify any activity, has to attend hui in order to meet community expectations, acts as counsellor to Maori students and other teachers, and is very committed to the children he or she teaches. Thorsen says this list of duties and responsibilities applies to other Maori teachers as well.

Kerin (1986) studied one-to-one interactions in junior classrooms, comparing Maori, taha Maori, and European teachers. She based her study on the premise that there are differences in socialisation due to different child-rearing practices, that there are different attitudes to knowledge, and that there are differences in cultural background. She says that in the classroom there can be a mismatch between teacher style and the style of discourse of pupils. She says there can also be non-verbal behaviour differences (e.g., the Maori shifting of gaze - whakaiti - which is a courteous easing of discussion tension, and cultural differences in attitudes to touching or closeness). She says, too, there are significant differences in meaning in such behaviours as raised eyebrows, shrugging shoulders, downcast eyes, and silence. In her literature review she refers to McKessar and Thomas (1978), who found that Maori children at an intermediate school preferred indirect or non-verbal methods for seeking help, or sought help from peers, while Pakeha children were much more likely to ask for direct help from the teacher. Maori children are likely to use such behaviours as head scratching, sighs, looking away from the task, or changes in position. Hawaiian children use very similar behaviours, because it is unacceptable for children to verbally request help from adults in Hawaiian culture, but they are often regarded as less intelligent because of these behaviours. Metge's (1986) interviews include accounts of such behaviours of Maori children in schools - and their social consequences - from the Maori cultural concept of whakamaa.

Kerin also refers to Matlock (1979), who says that the roles of classroom discourse reflect the teacher's social conditioning and value system, and also her perceptions of goals of the school and her insight into the possible deviation between her adult rules of discourse and those of her children. There is evidence that teachers respond to reinforcement - they talk more to the children who talk most to them, and they interact more frequently with children for whom they have high expectations. Rubovits and Maehr (1973), cited in Kerin (1986), found that gifted Black children (in the United States) were given "the least positive treatment".

Kerin also quotes Marie Clay's (1985) study of interactions in new entrant classrooms which found that European teachers asked Maori children for verbal elaboration less often than European or Pacific Island children. The teachers started as many moves with Maori children as they did with others but they did not encourage them to expand on their statements to the same extent.

In her own study of interactions in junior classrooms, Kerin found that Maori teachers talked more often with Maori children in a teaching situation and elicited more responses from them than European taha Maori teachers or European teachers did. At the same time Maori teachers used a lot of rejections and were more controlling with Maori children. These control moves and rejections were used in conjunction with high levels of positive reinforcement and acceptance of responses. This way of interacting seemed to elicit the most responses from Maori children.

In her discussion of results, Kerin says she believes the Maori children's response to Maori teachers resulted from the Maori teachers' knowledge of the cultural emphasis in Maori child-rearing and its cultural relevance to schooling, a match in the speaking rules of Maori teachers and Maori children, and the fact that more teaching moves tended to elicit more responses.

The fact that Maori teachers used far more control statements with Maori children than European teachers did may indicate higher expectations of Maori children and an honest appraisal of behaviour. Maori non-verbal behaviour is very important in the classroom. Teachers generally prefer a failing response to no response, but a Maori child's fear of failure often induces silence, which is interpreted as unwillingness or lack of knowledge.

Kerin says that Maori children react to praise differently from Pakeha children. Maori children often react unfavourably to overt praise from teachers as it is unPolynesian to be seen as better than others. Classroom success can sometimes be coupled with disruptive behaviour in the playground in order to avoid being labelled "whakahihi". Kerin says that European teachers seem to be unaware of this.

Geraldine McDonald (1988) in her paper "Promotion, Retention and Acceleration - How the School Promotion Structure Produces Inequalities in the Face of Good Intentions" introduces another factor. She concludes that:

1. The present system keeps back more boys and Maori children than it should.

2. The most damaging result is the gap in length of schooling between Maori and non-Maori and the low levels at which Maori students leave school.

3. The academic and social gains from keeping children back are illusory.

4. Children who are promoted make better academic progress than similar children who are retained.

5. Changing teaching techniques, changing curricula and introducing individual teaching without changes in the promotion system will be a waste of effort, time and money.

Walter Hirsh completed a study entitled "A Report on Issues and Factors Relating to Maori Achievement in the Education System" for the Ministry of Education in 1990. He says that Maori education suffers from having no overall plan. He says there are 5 main areas which must be addressed:

1. Maori empowerment, achievement, and curriculum issues.

2. Bilingualism, language maintenance, and language issues.

3. The quality of teachers and teacher education.

4. Good schools.

5. Other critical issues.

Among a long list of recommendations, Hirsh asks the Ministry of Education to conduct research into teaching styles which are most appropriate for Maori children. He also recommends an urgent and dramatic increase in the numbers of teachers trained to work in bilingual education.

In his section on the quality of teachers and teacher education Hirsh recommends:

1. That steps be taken to raise the level of expectations which many teachers have for Maori students in our schools.

2. That teacher education focus on the meaning and the relevance of the Treaty of Waitangi.

3. That professional development be provided for principals and boards of trustees in schools with bilingual programmes and units.

4. That all principals include issues of racism, bilingualism and biculturalism, multiethnic education and related topics in the professional development programmes of their staff.

5. That the Ministry of Education develop staffing policies which enable schools to cope with the high rate of burnout among Maori professionals caused by their dual accountability and the quite unreasonable workload borne by many of them.

6. That a residential college for teachers and other adults be established in central or northern New Zealand where the Maori language can be learnt in an intensive immersion programme.

W.J. Hamilton, who works on Maori education issues for NZEI, has prepared a number of papers relevant to this topic in 1990. In his "Report on Maori Language Resources", prepared for the NZEI National Executive and the National Resource Teachers of Maori Association in April 1990, he reports that hui have consistently confirmed the following aims for Maori children:

1. Excellence in te reo me ona tikanga Maori.

2. Self-esteem, identity, and dignity (personal and group mana).

3. Excellence in te ao Pakeha (Pakeha world).

4. Involvement of whanau, hapu, and iwi in education.

In his study Hamilton identifies the major resources for teaching the Maori language to be advisers, resource teachers, some Regulation 31D teachers, kaiarahi reo, and the Maori language factor funding. He says that these are the only identifiable Maori education resources and a small fraction of Vote Education; that a lot of these services were introduced to support taha Maori or Maori culture programmes, not to support te reo Maori; and that while there is a level of expertise and a commitment to Maori education many of the resource people are underskilled. He says all resource people need to be released for a term or 6 months to improve their competency.

In his paper "Staffing Shortages in Bilingual and Immersion Classes and Kura Kaupapa Maori", prepared for a Ministerial Staffing Shortages Working Party, October 1990, he reports that, while there are at least 300 classrooms offering bilingual or immersion learning, an Education Department survey in 1988 was able to identify only 162 fluent speakers of Maori in classrooms at that time. The conclusion must be reached that many bilingual and immersion classes are staffed by teachers who are not fluent. Hamilton suggests a number of short- and long-term solutions, including staffing incentives. He warns policy makers that the risk of burnout from the multiple demands on and expectations of the bilingual or immersion teacher must be recognised by class-release time for such purposes as resource preparation, in-service training, and community consultation.

In a third paper entitled "Maori Education: A Political Process", prepared for "Te Whakamarama: Maori Law Bulletin" December 1990, Hamilton records that between 1987 and 1989 there was:

- a 67 percent growth in bilingual schools;
- a 245 percent growth in the number of schools with bilingual classes; and
- a 372 percent growth in the number of pupils in bilingual classes.

He also records that in 1990 there were 11 kura kaupapa Maori established within the state system. He reports that the "Maori Education Achievement" discussion paper, included in the Ministry of Education's 1990 corporate plan, identified barriers to the success of bilingual programmes, including:

- inadequate and insufficient resources;
- insufficient fluent, trained teachers;
- poor understanding of bilingual pedagogy; and
- lack of information for the wider community.

He goes on

> Hui Rangatiratanga identified the need for Maori to determine what is an appropriate education for Maori children and for all children in things Maori.

Once again there is a list of practical steps needed to involve Maori people in decision making and in the allocation of resources, and to provide the resources and skills necessary for successful Maori education.

CHAPTER 7

Discussion of Findings

Previous Research

While Maori cultural factors tend to make the Maori teacher issue unique to New Zealand, many of the findings of this study agree with those found by researchers in other countries.

The career drives identified by De Long (1984) all seem very plausible in the light of this study, although we did not attempt to categorise teachers as De Long did. Creativity, autonomy, identity, service, technical and functional competence, and managerial competence were raised as important values by a number of interviewees. A few referred to security. Sweeney's (1981) theory of need deficiency, especially in the area of self-actualisation (the process of establishing oneself as a whole person), and to some extent in the area of self-esteem, is also supported. The conflict engendered by dual accountability and the need to be both Pakeha and Maori certainly create problems with self-actualisation for many Maori teachers. Esteem becomes an issue because of non-recognition and disappointments in seeking promotions and senior positions.

Sweeney's conclusion that teachers who work most of their time with low-ability students report less satisfaction than other teachers is borne out by Maori teachers' experiences (although the size of the sample means our finding is indicative rather than definitive).

Belok's (1965) ideas on teachers' freedom and the restrictions placed by both school and community were certainly ideas put forward by Maori former teachers. Hahn's (1968) emphasis on the importance of the relationship between the teacher and the principal, his idea of punishment for creative teaching, and his description of the conflict for teachers who must choose between loyalty to the students and loyalty to the principal are all central issues for Maori former teachers.

The conclusion of Fruth *et al.* (1982) that teaching is more a calling than a job and that intrinsic motivation which is related to a teacher's sense of personhood, professional identity and personal meanings and hopes is the most powerful link to teacher performance strikes very close to Maori teachers' collective experiences. For many Maori teachers the decision to leave teaching has been triggered by such issues as the inability to retain one's integrity as a Maori and teach at the same time, the conflict between one's own beliefs and values and the Pakeha beliefs and values of the education system, and a feeling of hopelessness in the face of being forced to witness Maori failure every day of one's working life. Maori former teachers also reported the frustrations of dealing with unsupportive administrators and unhappy colleagues, the disciplinary confrontations, and weariness at dealing with constant problems. The majority of those interviewed could also be described as being unwilling to cope rather than unable to.

Deschamp and Beck's (1979) finding that being geographically separated from communities to which they feel akin can influence teachers to leave teaching is partly reflected in movements made by Maori former teachers because of family illness or family responsibility, a desire for their children to be brought up in their tribal area, because the elders suggested a return home, or to be near grandchildren. The loneliness and sense of isolation experienced by Maori former teachers reflect a cultural rather than a geographical separation.

Burlingame's conclusion that burnout, which he describes as a loss of professional vitality and interest due to extreme client demand, is a likely reason for teachers leaving is certainly borne out by the reasons given by Maori former teachers.

This study also confirms the Lowther *et al.* (1982) conclusions about the intrinsic nature of teacher rewards, and the existence of job-related illness. The opportunity cost theories of Murnane *et al.* (1989) and Kemple (1989) do not seem to be particularly relevant to the findings of this study, although a number of interviewees did point out the financial advantage they had gained by leaving teaching and taking up another form of work. However, a greater number stated that they had dropped salary in order to leave. We did not attempt to divide teachers into categories as was done in the North Carolina studies.

The Metropolitan Life Survey (1986) identifies poor salaries and working conditions, stress, and professional prestige as the 3 main reasons for leaving teaching. Maori former teachers seem to have left because of stress and poor working conditions (lack of support, lack of resources, difficulties in timetabling, allocation of children to classes, etc.) in recent years. Poor salaries were certainly an issue some years ago, and still are for some. Professional prestige, on the other hand, did not emerge as a significant factor.

The reference by Moracco *et al.* (1983) to lower perceived stress in smaller schools than in large receives some support from this study in that a number of former teachers reported very happy experiences at country schools.

We are unable to comment on Wilkins and Korschgen's (1985) thesis that the more able teachers are likely to leave.

Nor can we comment on Bloland and Selby's (1980) demographic factors, as the sample for this study is too small to draw such conclusions. The professional and personal factors - salary, little opportunity for advancement, menial duties, non-recognition, burnout, and influence of spouse or best friend - all receive support in various ways. The school-related factors - size of school, integration of teacher with the school, student attitudes and discipline, relationship with colleagues and especially the teacher's relationship with the principal - are very significant factors in this study.

Some elements of Bruce and Cacciope's (1989) study in Western Australia - the encroachment of teaching duties on family and social life, and lack of administrative support - are issues for Maori former teachers, but some other factors they identify do not seem to be so important. The emphasis of Lowther *et al.* (1984) on the need for positive recognition and opportunities for teachers to influence their organisation are also issues of significance for Maori former teachers.

Armstrong's (1983) call for beginning teachers to have a good understanding of both the larger education system and the school they are appointed to, his identification of teacher needs for freedom, independence, creativity, and involvement in decision making, and his statement that beginning teachers do not need failure in the form of difficult or unmotivated classes are all echoed by Maori former teachers.

Silverman's (1956-57) conclusion about principals, Chussil's (1971) observations about the treatment of teachers, and Dillman's (1964) perceptions that professional growth is very important for teachers and that teachers carry out many menial tasks are also strongly supported. The study of Mager *et al.* (1986) of the stress involved in changes in a teacher's responsibilities are probably relevant to the excessive stress experienced by ordinary classroom teachers who are called on to establish bilingual units (or to assume guidance counselling duties and/or undertake disciplinary tasks of Maori children for other staff). McArthur's (1981) account of the reality shock experienced by most beginning teachers when they find themselves in a real classroom was described by many of our interviewees. Most of the criticisms he recorded of teacher training and the suggestions for improvement are very similar to ideas we encountered.

Pauling's (1980) study of school organisation and its impact on teachers in a New Zealand intermediate school has some elements which were expressed by interviewees in this study e.g., teacher cynicism about the inspectorate, disparity between policy and its implementation, and the allegiance of teachers to their home class, but it also encompasses matters which were not raised in discussions.

Batchelor's (1986) examination, in his M.Ed. thesis, of the weaknesses of procedures for selecting primary school teacher trainees in New Zealand, is very interesting but this study cannot comment on its findings. The paper of Karaitiana and colleagues (1985) on the class background of teacher trainees, the middle-class flavour of the teachers' college, and the lack of desire and ability of upper- or middle-class trainees to work or gain experience in working-class schools makes interesting reading. A number of Maori former teachers believe that at least some of the discrimination experienced by Maori children in schools can be laid at the door of the middle-class background and expectations of teachers. Ramsden's (1990) report of cultural safety in nursing education has relevance both for teacher training and for the position of Maori children in schools. Her recommendations for Maori tutors in nursing education are very applicable to Maori teachers.

Mahan and Lacefield's (1982) paper on training designed to prepare teachers to work in multicultural schools shows the value of such training, both to the individual teacher and to the community he or she works in. It is very relevant to needs expressed by former Maori teachers for all teacher trainees to have a good understanding of both Maori and other Polynesian cultures.

Logan's (1952) paper on Maori teacher trainees at Ardmore, while it appears extremely patronising in the current climate, does receive some support from our interviewees. Some said that they found certain theoretical aspects of the course very difficult; at the same time they were very successful in practical teaching, both while they were "on section" and later in their own classrooms. The source of the problem may lie in the very European thought processes and cultural ideas on which most of our teaching and learning theory is based.

The identification by Silver *et al.* (1988) of barriers to success for Black faculty in traditionally White institutions in the United States has a familiar ring. Black faculty suffer from a number of problems encountered by Maori teachers: exclusion from informal networks, lack of resources and incentives, and heavier service workloads. Maori former teachers would also agree that the effort they put into tasks related to minority Maori affairs is often not recognised for promotion, that it is difficult for the only Black (Maori) in a school or department, and that they have some reservations about the justice of some appointments.

Turner's (1984) account of the Hispanic population in California also sounds familiar. Under-achievement, low socioeconomic status, a critical shortage of bilingual teachers, and low teacher expectations are all issues for Maori communities and teachers. Some Maori former teachers believe there are strong disincentives for bilingual teaching positions in New Zealand too.

Most of the interviewees in our study would agree with Simon's (1986) thesis concerning the inbuilt bias against Maori pupils in the New Zealand education system. They would agree too that Maori control of programmes is essential. They would also support the contention of Alton-Lee *et al.* (1987) that there is a hidden curriculum working against Maori children in schools which can be detected in tacit norms and values, the knowledge codes used, and teacher/pupil and pupil/pupil interactions. Metge and Kinloch's (1984) and Metge's (1986) works on themes of cross-cultural communication are also supported by stories of misunderstanding and misinterpretation, particularly in behavioural and disciplinary matters.

Our study also confirms almost all the matters raised by Benton (1981, 1986, and 1988), especially those concerning the hazards and risks faced by Maori pupils and Maori teachers, the issues of bilingual education, and the damaging effects which may result from an education system which seems to be becoming preoccupied with cost recovery and business success.

Thorsen's (1984 and 1987) papers on Maori powerlessness in education and the plight of the Maori language teacher reach almost identical conclusions to this study. Kerin's (1986) study of interactions in junior classrooms raises issues put forward by some of the Maori former teachers. In particular, interviewees frequently found that they had no trouble at all with Maori children considered to be very difficult in Pakeha teachers' classes. A match in cultural understanding and rules of discourse, an understanding of non-verbal behaviour and body language, and higher expectations may all be factors in explaining such situations.

While the interviewees did not raise the issue of Maori children being more likely to be held back in early school years as found by McDonald (1988), a number raised the matter of Maori children of quite normal intelligence and ability being streamed into special, slow learner, or transition classes.

Hirsh (1990) recommends a number of changes which were raised again and again by Maori former teachers: the need to raise teacher expectations for Maori children, teacher education on the Treaty of Waitangi, professional development for principals and boards of trustees, staff training on issues of racism, bilingualism, biculturalism, and multiethnic education, policies to avoid burnout in Maori teachers, and a residential college for total immersion training for teachers and other adults.

Hamilton's three 1990 papers on Maori language teaching and Maori education are strongly supported by this study. His description of Maori aims for Maori children is strongly endorsed by Maori former teachers as it was by the tino rangatiratanga hui in August 1990.

Complicating Cultural Factors

The difficulty of being a Maori language teacher, and especially of being the sole Maori teacher at a large school, or at a school with a significant Maori population, is complicated by a number of cultural factors.

Maori people have a holistic view of life which makes it difficult for them to compartmentalise areas of their life or to think of people as having specific or limited functions. They see people as whole persons, and the warmth of the relationship with any given person is just as important as the person's role and/or function. For this reason, and because of the Maori teacher's understanding of them, their beliefs, their values, and their ways of solving problems, Maori children and Maori families are much more likely to consult the Maori teacher than they are to consult the school guidance counsellor on matters normally considered to be within the counsellor's realm. This is especially likely to happen if the school system and personnel are indifferent, antagonistic, or hostile to Maori pupils, Maori families, or Maori values. There is some question, too, whether the counsellor's methods and skills, which derive very strongly from European and American psychotherapeutic models, are likely to be appropriate or effective.

The holistic approach also makes it very important for Maori children to have a warm and mutually appreciative relationship with their teachers, a circumstance which must be difficult to achieve when many Pakeha teachers appear to have very low opinions and very low expectations of the Maori children they teach. Maori teachers also need warm relationships with colleagues, and those who encounter animosity, antagonism, resentment, or constant criticism of what they are doing from staff at their school find it very difficult to continue operating. They can be similarly affected by unsatisfactory or disapproving relationships with principals.

Another Maori cultural factor which affects the Maori teacher, particularly the Maori language, bilingual, or total immersion teacher, is the matter of accountability to the Maori community. Where a Maori teacher is working in his or her own tribal takiwa or district, the teacher will be accountable to their own whanau and hapu, to their iwi, and to the Maori community-at-large. Where a teacher is manuhiri, the teacher will be accountable to the tangata whenua and to the Maori community-at-large. Such accountability requires considerable consultation, reporting, and involvement in hui on the Maori teacher's part. Because recent generations of Maori parents have been frequently unable to learn their language, it is very important for Maori parents and families to learn te reo at the same time as their children so that they can help and support their children and practise the language with them. Maori teachers sometimes run special classes for families so that they can keep up to date with their children, or have as many parents and family members as possible in the classroom while they are teaching the children. While teachers are happy to do these things and see them as essential for the children's progress and for the retention and development of te reo, the result is more work and a need for excellent management skills.

The Maori teacher's skills can also be in considerable demand in the local Maori community. In these days when Maori are called upon (or are moved by tribal interests) to make submissions on policy, regulations, and laws almost weekly, the ability to read complicated documents and to write submissions which are likely to be noticed is a very important skill. Maori teachers are often expected to carry out these tasks. As well, they may be expected to present the submissions orally, to represent the local Maori community at important meetings, to be involved in employment and training programmes, and even to be marae/runanga/runanganui secretary because of their skills. They will certainly be expected to attend hui on education, youth, training, health, iwi development, traditional resource management, management of tribal farms and other assets, land claims and other Waitangi Tribunal matters, and many related issues, as well as making inputs to the many areas of everyday life which impinge on tribal and general Maori interests.

Maori teachers are more likely than others to be affected by family, whanau, and tribal responsibilities which are based on their culture. This has been a factor in a number of decisions and moves made by interviewees.

Is There a Solution?

We believe that the related issues of Maori teachers in New Zealand schools and Maori children in New Zealand schools are complex. This complexity has developed from a curious mix of historical, cultural, organisational, and philosophical factors. Prejudice and ignorance appear to play a part as well.

Some solutions or parts of solutions which appear to be possible include:

- Maori involvement in decision making at every level of education. Appointing one Maori to a predominantly Pakeha board of trustees or to a staff committee does not meet this criterion: not only must Maori people be involved but they must be there because the Maori community has appointed them and supports them and they must have power to influence the decisions made; a single person is often virtually powerless.

- The training of as many Maori teachers as possible, especially fluent speakers of te reo.

- Making it possible for every teacher involved in Maori language, bilingual, or total immersion teaching to receive specialised training in these fields.

- Making a term's sabbatical available, perhaps every 5 years, so that Maori, bilingual, and total immersion teachers would have the opportunity to improve their own language skills, to learn new techniques, to develop new resources, and generally to restore themselves.

- Intensive training for all principals in the Treaty of Waitangi, Maori culture, values, etiquette, protocol, history, knowledge, methods of transmitting knowledge, the needs of Maori children and Maori teachers, and problem-solving techniques.

- Intensive training of all staff in New Zealand schools, all teacher trainees, and all members of boards of trustees in the Treaty of Waitangi, Maori culture, values, etiquette, protocol, history, knowledge, methods of transmitting knowledge, the needs of Maori children and Maori teachers, and problem-solving techniques; also intensive training to try to improve attitudes to Maori children, Maori parents, and Maori achievement (methods involving the participants' emotions - role-playing, drama, and real experience methods - will probably be necessary if attitudes are to be changed; reinforcement may be necessary to maintain the attitude change).

- A serious commitment in the form of the appointment of staff and the allocation of funds to expanding the range of resources available for bilingual, total immersion and Maori language classes as quickly as possible; resources must be well designed, well produced, attractive, and easy to use. There is considerable expertise available in resource creation as a result of teachers' years of experience.

- Building up a core group of Maori teachers in as many schools as possible to provide mutual support, to spread the load of duties and demands, and to encourage Maori input to decision making.

- Recognition of the extra demands and the dual accountability Maori teachers face in the form of appropriate timetabling, release time, essential facilities, administrative support, and positive reinforcement from the principal and senior staff.

- Recognition of the extra effort made by many Maori teachers and the time they have devoted to their tasks as qualifications for promotion or appointment to senior positions.

- A serious examination of the allegations that school disciplinary systems are sometimes biased against Maori pupils and that Maori pupils are at risk of serious disciplinary outcomes for minor offences, or for cultural misunderstandings.

- A serious examination of syllabus content to ensure that the content itself, the materials used, and the presentation of it do not portray Maori people (present and past) in a dishonest or disparaging way.

- The establishment of a residential college of education to support young Maori trainees and to help them develop their skills and fluency in te reo; the college could also be used for in-service training for Maori, bilingual, and total immersion teachers and resource teachers of Maori.

These are individual and separate actions which would help to improve the lot of the Maori teacher and the Maori pupil in New Zealand schools. There would seem to be a strong case for addressing them on the grounds of the state's obligation to meet the educational needs of its people. In 1990, 21 percent of primary pupils were Maori, as were 15 percent of secondary pupils.

However, as stated earlier, this issue is an extremely complex one, and will not be solved by a schedule of separate adjustments to the current system. A number of the interviewees do not see any hope of real progress unless there is structural change - a shifting of the whole basis of education in this country, especially in areas of power structures, decision-making processes, and underlying philosophy. The incorporation of Maori values, Maori knowledge, and Maori methods of transmitting knowledge would be necessary to bring about real change. Recognition of the gifts, knowledge, and talents brought to school by Maori pupils would also be essential for Maori achievement.

Some interviewees had their hopes raised by the compulsory inclusion of the recognition of the Treaty of Waitangi and the equity provisions in school charters, only to have them dashed by the statement of the new Government that the Treaty of Waitangi and equity clauses were no longer compulsory. For some this change has only confirmed them in their belief that in the current New Zealand educational climate, kura kaupapa Maori seem to be the only hope for Maori children. They see kura kaupapa Maori as the opportunity to teach Maori children in their own language and according to Maori educational principles. They believe that children in kura kaupapa Maori will have the opportunity to grow and learn in a comfortable, supportive environment, that the children, their talents, and their experiences will be valued, and that the teachers will have high expectations of their success. Kura kaupapa Maori also provide the opportunity for Maori whanau, hapu, and iwi to make the decisions and to take responsibility for their children's education. Unfortunately, while kura kaupapa Maori look a very attractive solution to some of the very experienced educationists we interviewed, it seems likely that the vast bulk of the 121,000 Maori children enrolled in New Zealand schools in 1990 will remain in the state system coping as best they can.

Another issue which has a strong influence on the position of Maori children in schools, and the way they are regarded by staff and administrators, is the low socioeconomic status of many Maori families. Some of the former teachers commented that as well as being Maori, Maori children are often disadvantaged by being poor. Being poor means a lack of resources such as books and writing materials at home, difficulty with money for school equipment, activity fees, outings, trips, etc., difficulty in complying with school uniform rules, and inability to take part in "extras" such as sport, drama, music (fees and gear). In a more general sense, being poor often also means poor housing, poor nutrition, poor health, hunger, and inadequate clothing. The children from poor homes sometimes appear less attractive to middle-class teachers, and the teachers' expectations of their success are likely to be lower. National statistics show that Maori children are more likely to be affected by unemployment, and that many come from solo parent families. Their future looks grim in the light of benefit cuts which took effect from 1 April 1991.

A third factor which seems to be very important in the matter of Maori achievement in schools is the attitudes and feelings of Maori children's parents, grandparents, and whanau. For many Maori adults, school has been an experience they associate with failure, with cultural risk and conflict, and with demeaning and damaging treatment. It is difficult to see how people with such experiences can engender enthusiasm and motivation to participate and to succeed in their children unless there are substantial and obvious changes in the education system. Subtle reorganisation of current systems and procedures are unlikely to bring about change.

CHAPTER 8

Conclusions

The Need for Maori Teachers

Maori teachers were perceived to be needed for a number of reasons:

1. To teach Maori language, Maori history, Maori values and culture, and general classroom subjects.

2. To act as role models of successful Maori adults for the Maori (and Pakeha) children in schools.

3. To support and extend Maori children through understanding their background and values and recognising their needs.

4. To be a visible sign to Maori children that they are welcome and valued at the school.

5. To provide a Maori perspective for the school administration, the staff, the board of trustees, and other decision makers.

6. To provide a contact for Maori parents and whanau.

7. To demonstrate to the community that the school prizes Maori contributions, Maori values, and Maori culture.

Some Maori former teachers claim that Maori teachers are also employed by schools so that:

1. They can be allocated the difficult Maori children in the school.

2. They can be responsible for the discipline and welfare of every Maori child in the school.

3. Pakeha teachers and administrative staff will no longer need to make an effort to understand Maori children, Maori parents, or Maori beliefs.

4. The school can look as though it is making an effort.

5. The school can claim Maori language factor funding.

The Status of Maori Language, Bilingual, and Total Immersion Teaching

There are serious problems for Maori teachers who are involved in these areas of teaching. According to interviewees the problems arise from the following factors:

1. Many people in schools and in the community-at-large remain unconvinced that Maori language is essential for Maori identity, self-esteem, and participation in the culture, and that Maori people have a right to learn their own language.
2. Some former colleagues regard the teaching of Maori language as an unessential trimming which has been added to the curriculum to keep Maori people quiet.
3. There is resentment from some parents and some staff at the allocation of resources to Maori language programmes; they believe such resources could be used much more effectively elsewhere in the system.
4. Some former colleagues believe that learning their own language makes Maori children arrogant and cocky.
5. Some principals initiate Maori language programmes in their schools but fail to support them or make it possible for the programmes to succeed.
6. There is a constant and serious shortage of resources for Maori language programmes; this involves Maori language teachers in an almost daily need to create resources for their classrooms.
7. There is a serious shortage of fluent teachers to teach Maori language at secondary schools and in total immersion and bilingual programmes.
8. Some teachers involved in these areas have quite limited language skills themselves.
9. Many teachers involved in Maori language, bilingual, or total immersion teaching have no specific training for the task or the training they have received is inadequate.

The Role of the Maori Language, Bilingual, or Total Immersion Teacher

1. Establishing a new Maori language programme or a bilingual or total immersion programme in a school requires a very long process of community consultation and involvement both before the programme begins and for the life of the programme; the responsibility for the initiation, the co-ordination, and the maintenance of the community consultation and involvement usually falls to one teacher.

2. The Maori language, bilingual, or total immersion teacher may find that difficult Maori children are allocated to his or her class whether they are interested in learning Maori language or not.

3. The Maori language teacher (particularly in secondary schools) may find it difficult to teach in any consistent of coherent way because of frequent interruptions to deal with disciplinary or confrontational incidents in which the administration or other teachers have become embroiled with Maori pupils.

4. In some schools Maori children who misbehave in classes throughout the school are automatically sent to sit in the classes of the Maori teacher or teachers (also interrupting the teaching flow and leaving the teacher with an extra job to do between classes).

5. The Maori teacher may be expected by the school, and to some extent by the Maori community, to act as counsellor, disciplinarian, and welfare worker for every Maori child in the school.

6. The Maori teacher will probably be expected to act as school liaison person with all Maori families involved in the school and with the greater Maori community.

7. There will also be quite high expectations of the Maori teacher to be involved in the culture group, to produce excellent performances, to provide powhiri and mihi whenever required by the school (sometimes at very short notice), and to organise costumes, food, and trips away as well.

8. The Maori teacher will also be expected to be the school resource person on any and every Maori matter (and of course will expect to be such if s/he is the only Maori staff member) for other teachers, the administrative staff, the board of trustees, and sometimes the larger community.

9. Maori teachers sometimes find themselves in the role of defending Maori pupils against what they see as unjust treatment in the school, sometimes at the request of Maori families, sometimes because they cannot bear to watch what is happening to the pupil; this role often puts them offside with the school administration, and can affect their professional reputation and opportunities for promotion.

10. Maori teachers often experience conflict in being accountable both to the Maori community and to the school; they also experience difficulties when school demands appear to be in direct conflict with the welfare and development of their pupils or of other Maori children in the school.

11. The marginal status of Maori language in the education system often makes it very difficult for Maori language, bilingual, or total immersion teachers to obtain promotion, positions of responsibility, or principal positions.

12. The enormous workload carried by Maori language, bilingual, or total immersion teachers sometimes goes completely unrecognised by school administrators and the education system.

13. Maori teachers who become recognised for competence in their field are sometimes asked to contribute to working parties and task forces; such requests are an opportunity to contribute to decision making but often demand considerable time and effort on the teacher's part at the same time as he or she is carrying out teaching duties and all the associated tasks.

14. Maori teachers are frequently subjected to prejudiced and ignorant comments about Maori in school staffrooms.

15. Maori teachers sometimes have trouble establishing themselves as professionals with other staff because of their qualifications and training or because of their transfer from the primary to the secondary service.

16. Many of the diverse roles described above also fall to Maori teachers who teach other subjects in the school.

The Maori Child in New Zealand Schools

1. Research evidence suggests that Maori children are disadvantaged in New Zealand schools by teacher inability to recognise needs, by less teacher attention than other pupils receive, by teacher inability to encourage Maori pupils to develop and elaborate on matters important to them, and by an increased likelihood of being held back in the early stages of their education.

2. Maori former teachers suggest that Maori children are also disadvantaged by the prejudiced attitudes of teachers and administrators, by low expectations of teachers and administrators, by an unwillingness on the part of teachers and the education system to recognise the knowledge, skills, and talents which Maori children bring to school, and by disciplinary systems which appear to focus on Maori children in an unjust and unprofessional way.

3. Maori former teachers also believe that "difficult" Maori children are often placed in slow learner classes, special classes, or vocational or transition classes regardless of their intelligence or ability. These "difficult" Maori children are sometimes those who refuse to accept what they perceive as racist, discriminatory, or unjust treatment.

4. Because of their treatment in schools Maori children are likely to feel unwelcome and unvalued, to lose self-esteem, confidence, pride in their race and their identity, and motivation to succeed in the academic pursuits valued by the school system. Alternatively they may react by adopting fierce pride and mutual support in their Maoriness and rejecting the values of the school system which has alienated them.

5. Many Pakeha teachers and administrators have very little respect for or understanding of Maori values, etiquette, or protocol; such ignorance frequently leads to misunderstandings, misinterpretations, and offensive or insulting behaviour by such teachers or administrators (which may be reciprocated by those insulted and offended).

6. Attitudes to Maori language and Maori cultural values in a school have a personal impact on Maori children.

Why Maori Teachers Leave

It does not seem necessary to reiterate the reasons Maori teachers leave. The wonder is that so many of them remain.

APPENDIX 1

Interview Questions

Some personal details:

a. Age ________

b. Sex ________

c. Current occupation ____

d. How long ago left teaching ____________ years

e.

f.

1. Please list your main reasons for applying for teacher training:

a. ____

b. ____

c. ____

d. ____

Did you go straight from school?

What else had you done?

2. Please describe the teacher training course you attended:

a. Where? ________________________________

b. Primary or secondary? ________________________

c. Length of course? ____________________________

d. Other? (Te Atakura, etc?) ________________________

e. When?

3. At the time you began teacher training did you intend to make teaching a lifelong career?

Yes ____ No ____ Not sure ____

4. Did you consider the teacher training you received to be:

a. Appropriate? Yes ____ No ____

b. Realistic? Yes ____ No ____

c. The best possible training? Yes ____ No ____

Make any comments you wish about your teacher training:

____

____

____

____

5. At the time you began teaching did you intend to make teaching a lifelong career?

Yes ____ No ____ Not sure ____

6. Where did you teach?

7. Did you consider that you received sufficient support in your first year of teaching?

Yes ____ No ____

Make any comments you wish:

____

____

____

____

8. At the time you left teaching:

a. How old were you? ____

b. How long had you been teaching? ________ years

c. At the time were you single or married? ____________

d. Did you have dependent family at the time? ____________

e. Had you left teaching before? Yes ____/No ____

If yes, please give reasons (e.g., child rearing, travel, etc.) and length of time out of teaching.

f. Were you teaching in your own tribal area? _______

Did this have any special problems for you?

g. What position did you hold? ______________________________

h. What was the job you went to? ______________________________

i. What were its special attractions? ______________________________

j. What have you done since then? ______________________________

9. Please list the three most important reasons you decided to leave the teaching profession:

a. ____

____

b. ____

____

c. ____

____

If to another job, how did the pay compare?

10. Would you ever consider returning to teaching?

Yes ____ No ____ Not sure ____

If yes, please describe what changes you would like to see to encourage you to return to teaching:

____

____

____

____

____

____

11. What were the best things about teaching?

a. ____________________

b. ____________________

c. ____________________

d. ____________________

12. What were the worst things about teaching?

a. ____________________

b. ____________________

c. ____________________

d. ____________________

APPENDIX 2

Participants

MEN		WOMEN	
Pembroke Bird	Rotorua	Manutai Bennett	Auckland
Piripi Cherrington	Napier	Rahera Barrett Douglas	Hamilton
Mana Cracknell	Napier	Anahera Bowen	Christchurch
Hone Edwards	Auckland	Orsogna Broughton	Turangi
Arthur Gemmell	Taradale	Lynette Carkeek	Wellington
Bill Gillies	Christchurch	Suzanne Ellison	Christchurch
Danny Goddard	Levin	Erana Flavell	New Plymouth
Bill Hamilton	Wellington	Maru Goddard	Levin
Pine Harrison	Auckland	Kathy Irwin	Otaki
Haitia Hiha	Napier	Margaret Hiha	Napier
Abe Hurihanganui	Wellington	Horiana Joyce	Otaki
Bill Karaitiana	Christchurch	Roimata Kirikiri	Wellington
Rauru Kirikiri	Wellington	Haromi Koopu	Taupo
Rarawa Kohere	Auckland	Barbara Mackle	Kaikoura
Robin Kora	Auckland	Vivienne Mako	Christchurch
Martin Maher	Stokes Valley	Jan Melbourne	Hamilton
Jim Maniapoto	Taupo	Rachel Moore	Otaki
Joe Mason	Whakatane	Ataraita Ngapai	Tauranga
Richard Maui	Whakatane	Manu Ohia	Tauranga
Donald McDonald	New Plymouth	Rose Pere	Gisborne
Lou McDonald	New Plymouth	Irihapeti Ramsden	Wellington

MEN		WOMEN	
Bruce Mill	Gisborne	Aroha Reriti-Croft	Christchurch
Robin Mohi	Taneatua	Denise Rolleston	Tauranga
John Newa	New Plymouth	Margaret Smith	Wellington
Jim Nicholls	Auckland	Ruth Tai	Hamilton
Andrew Nuku	Whakatane	Wai Taumaunu	Wellington
Mahara Okeroa	New Plymouth	Patricia Tauroa	Auckland
Tumokai Panapa	Hamilton	Lillian Karaka	Te Puia Springs
Dave Para	Gisborne	Lucy Te Moana	Stokes Valley
Wally Penetito	Wellington	Hana Tukukino	Gisborne
Joe Pere	Whakatane	Betty Williams	Manaia, Coromandel
Gary Rangihau	Napier		
Tom Seymour	Tokoroa		
Don Solomon	Auckland		
Patrick Tamati	Rotorua		
Merv Taiaroa	Auckland		
Hiwi Tauroa	Wellington		
Harry Tibble	Otaki		
Tony Waikari	Haumoana, H. Bay		
Winston Waititi	Cape Runaway		
Richard Wilson	Wairoa		
Tom Winitana	Hamilton		
Derek Wooster	Auckland		

OTHER INTERVIEWEES

Richard Benton	Wellington	Whero Bailey	New Plymouth
* John Clarke	Wellington	Nena Benton	Wellington
Bill Edwards	Christchurch	Jenny Cracknell	Napier
* Tom Gemmell	Masterton	* Jane Du Feu	Nelson
* Kingi Haukamo	Hamilton	Kiri Moeke	Hastings
* Waldo Houia	Hamilton	Blossom Mohi	Wellington
Wiremu Kaa	Wellington	* Anita Moki	Hamilton
Ivan Komene	New Plymouth	Daphne Ropiha	Wellington
Turoa Royal	Porirua	Awhina Waaka	Napier
Timoti Te Heu Heu	Taupo	Addie Wall	Taupo
* Tu Waari	Wellington	* Iria Whiu	Ngaruawahia
		Clare Winitana	Hamilton

* Telephone interviews

APPENDIX 3

References

Allred, W.E., and Smith, R.B. (1982). "Profile of rural Utah teachers leaving the teaching profession". Paper presented to the Utah State Board of Education, May.

Alton-Lee, A., Nuthall, G., and Patrick, J. (1987). "'Take your brown hand off my book': racism in the classroom" in ***set*** 1, item 8, NZCER, Wellington.

Armstrong, D.G. (1983). *Evaluating teacher induction processes associated with the conditions of practice*. Paper to the Spring Convention of the National Council of Teachers of English, Seattle, April.

Batchelor, J.P. (1986). *Teacher selection: a Delphi investigation*. M.Ed. thesis, Massey University, Palmerston North.

Belok, M.V. (1965). "Teacher freedom - how much?" in *Journal of teacher education*, 16, pp. 450-452.

Benton, R. (1981). *Flight of the Amokura*. New Zealand Council for Educational Research, Wellington.

Benton, R. (1986). "Now fades the glimmering ... research in classrooms in New Zealand" in ***set*** 2, item 12, NZCER, Wellington.

Benton, R. (1988). "Working for the clamp-down?" *Accent*, 3 (8) October 1988, pp. 6-9.

Bloland, P.A., and Selby, T.J. (1980). "Factors associated with career change among secondary school teachers: a review of the literature". *Educational research quarterly*, 5, No. 3.

Bruce, K., and Cacioppe, R. (1989). "A survey of why teachers resigned from government secondary schools in Western Australia". *Australian journal of education*, 33, No. 1, pp. 68-82.

Burlingame, M. Publication date not given on ms, but title places article. "An analysis of attrition in the downstate Illinois teaching force, 1972-73 to 1977-78". For the Illinois State Board of Education, Springfield.

Chussil, Y. (1971). "Teacher-administrator relations: a continuing hiatus". *The Clearing House*, 45, No. 7, March.

Clay, M. (1985). Cited in Kerin, 1986. "Engaging with the school system: a study of interactions in new entrant classrooms". *New Zealand journal of educational studies*, 20 (1).

Clayton, W.D., and Wilson, E.S. (1984). "Non-returning first year teachers: a profile". Paper to the Annual Meeting of States on Inservice Education. Analysis of Alabama schools.

De Long, T.J. (1984). "A comparison of the career orientations of rural and urban educators". *Educational review*, 36, No. 1.

Deschamp, P.A, and Beck, T.M. (1979). "Teacher transfers: a survey of teachers' opinions on factors influencing their period of stay in schools with a low staff-retention rate", in *Studies in rural education*, No. 2. Western Australian Education Department, Perth.

Diamond, C.T.P., and Borthwick, J. (1989). "The brightest and the best: factors influencing the retention or withdrawal of completing teachers". *Australian journal of education*, 33, No. 2, pp. 141-150.

Dillman, B.R. (1964). "Teacher activities and professional growth as perceived by physicians, lawyers, clergymen and educators". *Journal of teacher education*, 15, pp. 386-392.

Fruth, M.J., *et al.* (1982). *Commitment to teaching: teachers' responses to organisational incentives - report from the program on student diversity and school processes*. Report of Wisconsin Centre for Education Research, Madison, February.

Hahn, R.O. (1968). "Creative teachers: encouraged or discouraged?" in *The Clearing House*, November.

Hamilton, W.J. (1990). *Report on Maori language resources* for the National Executive of NZEI and the National Resource Teachers of Maori Association. April.

Hamilton, W.J. (1990). *Staffing shortages in bilingual and immersion classes and kura kaupapa Maori* for a Ministerial staffing shortages working party. October.

Hamilton, W.J. (1990). "Maori education: a political process" in *Te Whakamarama: Maori law bulletin*. December.

Hirsh, W. (1990). *A report on issues and factors relating to Maori achievement in the education system* for the Ministry of Education, Wellington. August.

Isherwood, J. (1975). *An analysis of attitudes, interests and biographical data of teachers and student teachers in relation to tenure*. M.Soc.Sci. thesis in psychology, University of Waikato.

Karaitiana, W., and others. (1985). *Socio-economic backgrounds and teaching preferences of final year primary trainees*. [Recipients of report not clear - no title page on copy of report given to Mitchell Research; co-authors' names missing.]

Kemple, J.J. (1989). "The career paths of black teachers: evidence from North Carolina". Paper to the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Francisco, March.

Kerin, A.A.W. (1986). *One-to-one interactions in junior classrooms: a comparison of Maori, taha Maori, and European teachers*. M.A. thesis in education, University of Auckland.

Kleinert, J. (1968). "Teacher turnover in the affluent school district". *The Clearing House*, 42 (5).

Kolbert, E. (1985). "Minority faculty: bleak future" in the *New York Times*, section 12, p. 42, 18 August.

Logan, J.L. (1952). *The training of Maori students in a residential teachers' training college*. Paper for Dip. Ed., Education Department, Auckland University.

Lowther, M.A., Coppard, L.C., Gill, S.J., and Tank, R. (1982). *The mid-career malaise of teachers: an examination of job attitudes and the factors influencing job satisfaction in the middle years* for the Institute of Gerontology, Ann Arbour, Michigan.

Lowther, M.A., Stark, J.S., and Chapman, D.W. (1984). "Perceptions of work-related conditions among teachers and persons in other occupations" in *Journal of educational research*, 77, (5).

Mager, G.M., Myers, B., Maresca, N., Rupp, L., and Armstrong, L. (1986). "Changes in teachers' work lives" in *The elementary school journal*, University of Chicago, 86, No. 3.

Mahan, J.M., and Lacefield, W.E. (1982). "Employability and multi-ethnic teacher preparation" in *Education research quarterly*, 7, No. 1, Spring.

Matlock, J.H. (1979). Cited in Kerin, 1986. "Cultural norms and classroom discourses: communication problems in the multiethnic school setting". *The modern journal*, 63 (4).

McArthur, J. (1981). *The first five years of teaching* for the Education Research and Development Committee, Report No. 30 (Australian Government Publishing Service).

McDonald, G. (1988). "Promotion, retention and acceleration: how the school promotion structure produces inequalities in the face of good intentions" in ***set*** 2, item 3, NZCER, Wellington.

McKessar, C.J., and Thomas, D.R. (1978). Cited in Kerin, 1986. "Verbal and non-verbal help-seeking among urban Maori and Pakeha children" in the *New Zealand journal of educational studies*, 13 (1), pp. 29-39.

McLeod, R. (1990). "Teachers who don't: the lost educators" in *North and South*, December.

Metge, J., and McKinloch, P. (1984). *Talking past each other: problems of cross cultural communication*. Victoria University Press, Wellington.

Metge, J. (1986). *In and out of touch: whakamaa in cross cultural context*. Victoria University Press, Wellington.

"The Metropolitan life survey of former teachers in America" in *American educator* (summer, 1986). Authors unknown.

Mitchell, H.A., and Mitchell, M.J. (1988). *Profiles of Maori pupils with high marks in School Certificate English and mathematics* for the Research and Statistics Division, Department of Education, Wellington.

Moracco, J.C., D'Anenzo, R.V., and Danford, D. (1983). "Comparison of perceived occupational stress between teachers who are contented and discontented in their career choices" in *The vocational guidance quarterly*, September.

Murnane, R.J., Singer, J.D., and Willett, J.B. (1989). "The influences of salaries and 'opportunity costs' on teachers' career choices: evidence from North Carolina" in the *Harvard Educational Review*, 59, No. 3, August.

Pauling, W.J. (1980). *School organisation and its impact on teachers*. M.A. thesis in education, University of Auckland.

Porter, L.W., and Steers, R.M. (1973). "Organisational, work and personal factors in employee turnover and absenteeism" in *Psychological bulletin*, 80, No. 2, pp. 151-176.

Ramsden, I.M. (1990. *Kawa whakaruruhau - cultural safety in nursing education in Aotearoa*. Report derived from hui discussions and recommendations, and allied research of nursing training philosophy and practice.

Rubovits, P.D., and Maehr, N.L. (1973). Cited in Kerin, 1986. "Pygmalion Black and White". *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 25 (2), pp. 210-18.

Russell, D.E. (1979). *Teacher mobility in Wisconsin public schools*. Published by the Division for Management, Planning and Federal Services, Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction.

Silver, J.H., Dennis, R.W., and Spikes, C. (1988). *Black faculty in traditionally White institutions in selected 'Adams' states: characteristics, experiences and perceptions*. Southern Education Foundation, Atlanta, Georgia.

Silverman, M. Ms undated, but probably 1956-57. *Principals - what are you doing to teacher morale?* Ms provided by library has no source designations, but study was adapted from *What New York elementary school teachers feel is the effect of principals on their morale*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, School of Education, New York University.

Simon, J.A. (1986). *Ideology in the teaching of Maori children*. Delta Research Monograph, No. 7, Department of Education, Massey University, Palmerston North.

Sweeney, J. (1981). "Teacher dissatisfaction on the rise: higher level needs unfulfilled". *Education*, 102 (2), pp. 203-207.

Thorsen, K. (1984). "The Maori language, teachers and work stress". Interviews carried out at the 1984 PPTA conference.

Thorsen, K. (1987). "The policies of deception - avoiding accountability to the Maori people" in *PPTA journal*, Term 1: 1987, pp. 24-27.

Turner, C. (1984). "Demographic shifts and their implication for education: the Hispanic population in California" for Policy Analysis for California Education, July.

Wilkins, M.G., and Korschgen, A. (1985). "Teacher flight - yes or guess?" in *Phi Delta Kappan*, Vol. 67, No.2, pp. 148-149.